1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920) 1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11

XXXIV

THE TALENSE (*continued*)

The Clan Settlement. The Family Compound. The Section-head (Yi-zut-kyɛma). *The* Ten'dan'. *The Territorial Ruler*

621 613 THE constitution of a Talense *tey* is identical with that of the Nankanse. The *tey* (Nankane *teya*) is divided into sections, all the inhabitants of which trace descent from a common ancestor, but each, again, has, as its own more intimate ancestral spirit, a less remote ancestor, from which that particular section takes its name and to whom 'section-', as opposed to '*tey*-', sacrifices, are offered. A section is *yi-zug* (Nankane *yi-zuo*). A section-head is *Yi-zug-kpwem* (Nankane *yi-zuo kyɛma*).

At Tongo there are four sections, known as (*a*) Pusega, (*b*) Guŋa, (*c*) Korega, (*d*) Seug. The post of section-head of Pusega was vacant; as 'the funeral custom of the late *yi-zut-kpwem* had not yet been held, his successor could not be appointed'.

The section-head of Guŋa is *Sayezaa* (my informant, see Fig. 63); of Korega, a certain *Basego*; of Seug, vacant, for the same reason as (*a*).

613 [76] *Election of New Section-head*: Heads of other sections met and consulted the *bay* (Nankane *baga*) to find out why the late head of the section had died. The soothsayer might say, 'It was because he did not give one of the cows, *sull* (Nankane, *sulle*), which he received for his eldest daughter, to his ancestor.' After the funeral custom his successor was appointed. 'The man who had the right to take the deceased's *bagere* (here ancestral shrine) was the one to succeed. This man was already known; the *bay* was only consulted about the funeral.'

The successor to the section-head was the 'senior' man in that section, but he was not necessarily the oldest: e.g. *A* marries a wife, *C*, by whom he has three sons, *D*, *E*, *F*, and three grandsons *G*, *H*, *I*, sons of *D*, *E*, and *F*; *A*, in his old age, marries a young wife, *B*, by whom he has a son, *J*. This son may be twenty years or more younger than *G*, *H*, *I*, but if *A*'s brothers are all dead and also *D*, *E*, and *F*, then *J* will become section head before *G*, *H*, or *I*, 'because *G*, *H*, and *I* call *J* father.'[1]

613 178 The tendency here, as almost everywhere in the Northern Territories, is for these hereditary section-leaders, who were really the back-

[1] See p. 279 [i.e. reference to similar practice among the Nankanse—A] [p. 346]

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

Administration) of Navrongo or the Bulisi (Builsa) of Kanjaga district, whose tongues are not intelligible to Mole or Dagbane speakers.

In the same way it is well known that the Kusaasi, Namnam, Gorənsi, and Tallensi are more closely allied in culture *inter se* than they are with other neighbouring 'tribes'. In this part of West Africa one can often tell where a person comes from by his facial cicatrizations.[1] People of these four groups all have the same facial marks, a slashed scar (*bɛn*) running diagonally downwards from the bridge of the nose across one or both cheeks, which are, in addition, often embellished with a neat tracery of tiny incisions (*yiis*) spreading in herring-bone lines over the forehead and down to the neck. These markings are an emblem of their cultural uniformity, as compared with neighbouring groups. Mamprusi and Mossi, frankly contemptuous of their nakedness and poverty, lump them all together under the sobriquet 'Gorənsi'. Since the coming of the white man they have been called 'the Farafaras' and they are beginning to accept this appellation, which is said to be derived from one of their customary expressions of greeting, *ni i fara-fara-fara*.

There are, in short, no precise linguistic or cultural boundaries between these four groups. Nor are there precise political or structural boundaries between them. They overlap with one another in every way; and further research would, I am certain, show that the Kusaasi, Namnam, and Gorənsi also overlap to some extent with their neighbours other than the Tallensi. At the same time, each of these four groups is considered by members of the other three and by its own members to be in some way a distinct territorial, linguistic, and cultural group. It is, however, a distinction of degree, not of kind. Each group comprises a cluster of communities which have more in common among themselves, linguistically and in the details and nuances of custom, belief, and values, than any of them have with other neighbouring communities. They have closer social ties among themselves than any of them have with their other neighbours, though they have no apparent political unity and never, in the past, combined for war against external enemies or for common defence.

This largely implicit feeling of their difference from neighbouring dialect areas which prevails amongst such a cluster of communities is not based on a conception of tribal unity. Sharp distinctions of custom, belief, and values, as well as of structural relationships, are recognized within the cluster. They are, indeed, of fundamental importance for the social interrelations of the communities making up the cluster. On the same principle as before, the cluster is subdivided into smaller constellations of communities which have more in common, closer bonds, *inter se*, than any of them have with other communities. Culturally, and structurally, as we shall discover in the course of our study, society in the Volta region is built up on a segmentary principle. The degree of unity, coherence, autonomy, or singularity of a socio-geographic segment of

[1] These distinguishing facial marks were noted by the first European traveller who visited the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, the Frenchman Binger. Cf. Binger, Capitaine, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, 1893, vol. ii, pp. 34–7. For diagrams of these markings see Armitage, C. H., *The Tribal Markings and Marks of Adornment of the Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, Royal Anthropological Institute, 1924, especially figs. 4, 6, 26.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

society is a function of its segmentary relations to other like regions and to more inclusive regions, up to the limit of the widest frame of social reference relevant for that region. In consequence, social groups are identified in relation to one another by a technique of contraposition. This is very clearly seen among the Tallensi.

Cultural Segmentation of the Tallensi

From Zuarungu one can see the silhouette of the Tong Hills bounding the horizon seven miles to the south. That, say the people of Zuarungu, is where the Tallensi live. As a group they consider themselves to be quite distinct from the Tallensi, though many individuals have kinsmen among the latter—their own mothers' people, or more distant cognatic kinsmen, or affinal relatives. Even nowadays, when women and children can travel safely anywhere, intercourse between Zuarungu and the Tallensi is confined almost entirely to trade in the markets. In former times it was more than a Zuarungu man's life was worth to venture amongst the Tallensi unless he had kinsfolk there to protect him.

Between Zuarungu and the Tong Hills stretches an unbroken chain of settlements—Biuk, Ba'ari, Zubiuŋ, Tongo, Wakii, and Soog. The people of Biuk speak Gɔrni and consider themselves an outpost of Zuarungu. But a number of them live across the watercourse which separates their land from that of Ba'ari, side by side with Ba'ari families and farming on Ba'ari soil.[1] Such overlapping of contiguous settlements is common. The Ba'ari people are Tallensi, though a great many of them understand Gɔrni as easily as their mother tongue owing to their contiguity with Gɔris. Gɔrni forms have even crept into their vocabulary. Between them and their Gɔre neighbours there is much intermarriage; but the insistence on their distinctness remains. The picture is the same from whichever direction one enters Taleland. At Gar I was once told 'We are Namnam-Tallensi'—an accurate enough description of their linguistically and culturally intermediate position.

And yet, everywhere along the frontier the Tong Hills are pointed out as the real centre of the Tallensi. To the testimony of their neighbours may be added that of the Administration which has always regarded the Tallensi as a distinct, if amorphous, political unit.

The easiest if most superficial approach to the social structure of a society is through the nomenclature of social identification, the techniques by which people sort out their relations to one another in order to know how to conduct themselves. But nomenclature, like the conduct it tends to precipitate, is always a function of a situation, not an absolute classification.

Foreigners and their neighbours have a single label for all the Tallensi. The latter equally make no distinction in nomenclature between one Gɔrɔŋ and another, or one Nabt and another, no matter where he may come from, when the circumstances require no more precise specification.

This technique of identification is based on locality, direction, propinquity, and actual or alleged contrasts of language and institutions; it is a technique of contraposition arising from the segmentary structure of the society, and is the commonest method of social classification employed

[1] And Biuk is also linked to the Tallensi by clanship as we shall see (Ch. IV).

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

in the culture of this area. A member of one social group identifies another social group or individual by comparison or contrast with his own social identity, and in terms of the most inclusive grouping which suffices to identify the latter unambiguously. The exact identification is relative to the frame of reference common to both parties.

Wherever he may come from in Taleland, a man calls himself a Talǝŋ in contrast to non-Tallensi, citing differences of speech and custom. Thus, female circumcision is practised over a large part of the Northern Territories. All the Tallensi think it a repugnant custom, and say: 'We Talis don't do that—it is a custom (lit. work) of the Gǝris (*Tam Talis pu ɛt lan—Gǝris tuomǝr nla*).' But Tallensi from different parts of Taleland draw almost equally sharp distinctions amongst themselves, using the same technique of contraposition.

To understand this we must consider the spatial distribution of Tale settlements. For Tale social structure is inseparable from the spatial relations of social units. We shall start from Tongo (Talni, *Tɔŋ*), about a mile from the foot of the hills (see sketch-map, p. 15), one of the most thickly populated settlements in the country and regarded by the Administration as the capital of Taleland. Typically of this part of the country, Tongo and the settlements adjacent to it on all sides—Ba'ari, Zubiuŋ, Zoo, Soog, Wakii, and Gbeog—form a continuous area of habitation thickly studded with homesteads. Beyond this aggregate stretches another ring of settlements indistinguishably continuous with it at many points. On one side of Ba'ari live its Gǝre neighbours, on the other is Yaɣazuor, which is separated only by small hillocks and a block of bush-farms from Kpatia, Kpal, and Gbee. The farthest homesteads of Zubiuŋ lie against a low bulge in the plain from the bouldery tip of which one looks down on Sǝk and Yamǝlǝg, a mile or two away. Zoo and Gbambee merge into one another and overlook Woo. Soog, Wakii, and Gbeog encircle the slopes of the Tong Hills and are separated from Tɛnzugu, the settlement in the fertile hollow embracing almost the entire summit, only by the ridge of enormous boulders which forms the crown. Gbeog overlaps Ka'ar, which is continuous with Gorogo, Sipaat, and Sii. These settlements climb right up into the gullies and amongst the boulders of the slope of the Hills and straggle out across the broad plain to blend with Dkoog. The homesteads of Sii curl round the nose of the Hills to mingle with those on the outskirts of Yinduur and Zandoya, on the other side below the rim of the Hills. A mile farther along, at the foot of the Hills on their eastern side, are the more scattered homesteads of Santɛŋ, Teelǝg, Syɛk, and Wǝyar, separated from Tɛnzugu only by the brow of the Hills.

This compact block of settlements is barely separated from a similar block five or six miles north-east of the Hills which begins at Sawalǝg. Between Zoo and Yamǝlǝg lies a mile or so of stony hummocks, covered in parts with the low scrub which shows that it had been cultivated and then abandoned. This is where many people from Tongo and Zoo have their bush-farms. Yamǝlǝg occupies a shallow depression between hillocks. Then comes a stretch of two or three miles of typical orchard bush before the homesteads of Sawalǝg and Sie are reached. Thence a traveller can

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

continue through Sie-Tɛndaaŋ or Namɔyalug to Gban, Gar, and Kpatia or to Buug, Duusi, Datɔk, and beyond to Pieluŋ and Nangodi with scarcely a break in the continuity of settlement.

In addition to these two main blocks of settlements—let us call them, for convenience, the Tongo district and the Sie district—there are scattered Tale settlements, separated from them and from one another by stretches of bush, between them and the Volta rivers—Namooraana, Diga'ar, Tola, Kumbude, Biuŋ, and Gbiug-on-the-river being the most important. But other settlements on the frontiers of Taleland, the inhabitants of which are not recognized as Tallensi by outsiders, also fall into the framework of their political geography.

The first puzzle a stranger must unravel, if he hopes to understand the life of our people, is the apparent contradiction between the density of residential aggregation and the cleavages underlying their social relations. He will meet it latent in simple and casual occurrences, or conspicuously overt in organized collective events such as the communal hunting and fish drives, the Great Festivals, or other ceremonial gatherings.

Taleland is thickly populated. The Tongo district alone has a population of over 12,000 according to the 1931 census. This area of ancient habitation—*tɛŋ kɔrəg*, an old country, as the natives describe it—has supported a sedentary population for a period which cannot be less than several centuries. Sacrifices are made on graves of ancestors said to have lived ten or eleven generations ago. No one familiar with the people would doubt the authenticity of these graves; but the three centuries or so of settlement this implies must, I believe, be considered a minimum period. Centuries of intermarriage have woven a web of kinship which embraces the whole country. The patterns of institutions and ideas are uniform throughout Taleland. Yet a fundamental dogma of their collective life is that of local and sectional particularism, and of divergence within the common patterns.

The 'Real Talis'

Neither the Tongo people, nor those living in the Sie district, are considered to be real Talis; the 'real Talis' are the folk who live on and around the Tong Hills. The Great Festivals are usually cited as a decisive criterion of classification. The 'real Talis' (*Talis mɛŋa*), a Tɛnzugu elder once stated, are in the following places: Tɛnzugu, Santɛŋ, Yinduur, Sii, Gorogo, Wakii, Gbeog, and Soog, as well as the small settlements near Santɛŋ and the offshoots of Wakii at Gbambee and Woo. '*Tam tɔmɔra Talis tuntuoma, ti Gɔlib ni ti Bɔyaraam*—We perform the works of Talis, our *Gɔlib* and *Bɔyaraam* festivals.' Tongo and Zoo, Yamɔlɔg and Sie, are Namoos, he continued; and Zubiuŋ and Sɔk, Ba'ari and Yaɣazuor, belong more closely to the Namoos than to the Talis. '*Bam tɔmɔra namoorɔt*—They celebrate (lit. work) after the Namoo fashion, the *Giŋgaaŋ* and *Da'a* festivals.' There remain Sawalɔg, Sie-Tɛndaaŋ, Duusi, and the settlements close to them. '*Bam lɛbɔra Namnam sani*—They fall in with the Namnam' (whose chief festival is called *Tɛŋɔn-lɛbɔgɔt*.)[1]

[1] A brief account of one aspect of these festivals is given in my paper 'Ritual

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

SIE-DATƆK

Two maximal lineages constituting a relatively autonomous corporate unit	each has ties of clanship with	one authentic lineage of Sie, but not with the others
	no ties of clanship with	the other three branches of Mosuor biis
One lineage (D) (Daaŋ yidɛm)	has ties of clanship with	one lineage (F) Dabierugyayardɛm of Gban

618x

By extension of the clanship ties between Daaŋ yidɛm (D) of Sie-datɔk and Dabierugyayardɛm (F) of Gban, both lineages of Sie-datɔk have ties of clanship with all Gban.

GBAN

Three maximal lineages not claiming convergent ascent. (A composite local clan)	have ties of clanship with	Sie-datɔk
	but no ties of clanship with	Mosuor biis.

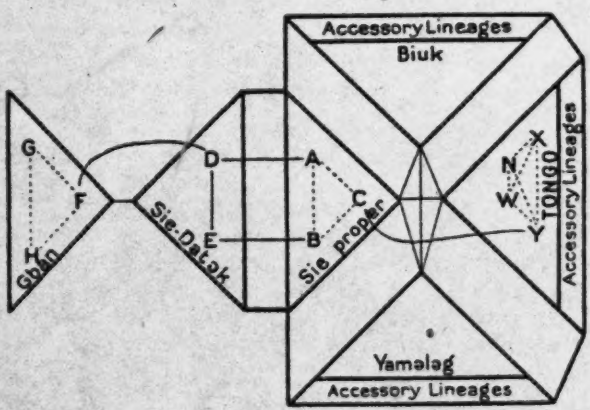

Diagram showing the Nexus of Clanship Ties from Gban to Tongo
Clanship Ties are shown thus ———
A. etc. = *Major segments of clan or sub-clan.*

The Field of Clanship

To avoid circumlocution we may speak of this system of linked lineages as a clan organization. We can describe Mosuor biis collectively as a clan, and each of the four locally distinct branches of this agnatically defined grouping as a sub-clan—overlooking, for the sake of simplicity, the peculiar association of accessory lineages within each sub-clan. We can, more appropriately, subsume the principles which determine the connexion between lineage and lineage in the chain, both within the clan or sub-clan and across clans, under the concept of clanship. This would be isolating a special sense of the associated Tale concepts *mabiirɔt* (kin), *dɔŋam* (consanguinity), and *nunzɔt* (brotherhood), which emerges quite clearly when these terms of wider meaning are applied to relations

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2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

618 between corporate units. We may define a clan, then, as a set of locally
621 united lineages, each of which is linked with all or most of the others by ties of clanship, which act together in the service of certain common interests indicated by the bond of exogamy, by reciprocal rights and duties in events such as the funeral of a member of any one of them, and by the ban on intestine war or feud; and which act as a corporate unit in respect of these common interests in relation to other such units. We must stress the point that the clan, as here defined, is a local unit, occupying a specified locality from which it takes its name.

This definition applies to the ideal type of the Tale local clan. It does not exhaust all the attributes of social relations based on clanship ties among the Tallensi. In the case of Mosuor biis, we should substitute 'sub-clan' for 'clan' in this definition, though the natives would contend that it is merely a matter of degree. They would say that the four branches of Mosuor biis represent a particularly wide dispersal of what is really a single local clan of the more usual kind. Many other Tale clans have colonial offshoots, but as they are not so well differentiated, either genealogically or spatially, as Mosuor biis they are not reckoned as separate units of clan organization. Again, there is a difference between a sub-clan like Tongo, all the component lineages of which are segments of a single inclusive lineage and have a common founding ancestor, and a clan like Gban, the component lineages of which are genealogically independent maximal lineages. Gban is an example of what might be called a composite clan. Lastly there are units such as Sie-datɔk, which has the corporate structure of a composite clan, but with so much less local and lineage autonomy than is characteristic of a clan that it is regarded by the natives as an appendage of Sie.

618 Tale clans, as these few examples show, are very varied in their constitution. But the ground-plan of all is the same. The core of every clan is a maximal lineage. In the special case of Mosuor biis, a major segment of the maximal lineage is the foundation of each sub-clan, but these major segments are functionally homologous with the maximal lineages of composite clans. The maximal lineage, everywhere, is a clearly defined structural unit. It is the only irreducible unit of the clan organization.

Tale clan organization can best be understood if we realize that every maximal lineage is the centre of a field of specific social relations marked out by the ties and cleavages established by the principles of clanship. The dimensions of the field of clanship of a lineage, in the narrow sense, are determined by the fundamental principle of clanship, the canon of agnatic descent, applied directly, fictionally, or by a compromise through the assumption of a cognatic link. Even clanship ties which seem to be rooted in local contiguity are translated so as to fit in with this principle. It is the organizing principle of social relations on the plane of clanship. All corporate units tend to be modelled on the agnatic lineage; all social ties and cleavages between corporate units tend to operate in accordance with the norms premised by the patrilineal principle.

Clanship ties and cleavages mark out, for each lineage, one or more other lineages in relation to whose members its own members are automatically subject to the rule of exogamy, and have, in theory, the uncon-

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

sunzɔp' by Tongo people, and they take the part of distant *sunzɔp* in their corporate relations with Tongo. Thus, an important funeral at Tongo always attracts a large contingent of Zoo people, and vice versa. When Doohraan, one of the senior elders of Tongo, died, Zoo turned out in full force to join in the celebrations that inaugurated the funeral. A cow was slaughtered as an offering to the departed, and when it was divided up the Zoodem proper received half a foreleg, as distant *sunzɔp*, the other half going to Zubiuŋ, as the closest unrelated neighbours of the Tongo lineage which was celebrating the funeral. On this occasion Zoo-Yiraaŋ sent a number of young men to swell the ranks of their *sunzɔp*, the Zoodem proper, so that they could make as grand a display as possible. They themselves cannot take part in a Tongo funeral as an independent unit.

At the same time it is explicitly recognized that Zoodem proper are the *sunzɔp* of Tongo only by courtesy. They do not have the rights and duties of true clan *sunzɔp*. Tale social structure, highly determinate as it is, is flexible, and allows of such extensions of its basic principles. It allows the translation into the idiom of kinship and clanship of the ties of contiguity or of ceremonial or political solidarity. For the ties of clanship-by-courtesy recognized between Zoo and Tongo rest upon their spatial contiguity and political interdependence. The maximal lineage of Zoo proper has the custody of a special shrine connected with the chiefship of Tongo. According to their myth of origin, their founding ancestor performed the ritual services associated with this shrine for Mosuor when he was Chief of the Mamprusi and followed him to Tongo. These ritual services still vested in Zoodem proper form a strong bond between them and Tongo.

On the other hand, the fact that both groups are Namoos is an essential factor of their clanship-by-courtesy. By contrast the people of Zubiuŋ, who are as closely associated with Tongo spatially, politically, and by reciprocal ritual services, and, like the people of Zoo, always fought on the side of Tongo in the old days, are Talis, properly speaking; thus there is a stricter social separation between them and Tongo. They are not regarded as *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy by the latter; they refrain from the ritual or ceremonial activities of the people of Tongo in which Zoodem proper can and do take a part greater than that of mere spectators.

At the same time the genealogical and corporate independence of the people of Zoo proper, in relation to Tongo, is precisely marked. Neither group takes part in the cult of the lineage ancestors of the other; and if, for instance, in a funeral ceremony men of Zoo proper perform ritual services for a Tongo lineage, or vice versa, they do so because true clan *sunzɔp* are not present.

One infallible test of their differentiation from the clan of Mosuor biis is the fact that the two groups intermarry. Another is the rule about raiding. A generation ago, before the white man imposed the rule of his law, raiding (*ŋɔk*) was a common method of self-help in Taleland. It was the final resource of a man who wished to retrieve a debt owed to him by a member of another clan. If, for instance, a Tongo man owed a Wakii man cattle for a marriage he had contracted, and withheld payment unduly long or in bad faith, the latter would resort to self-help.

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

He would set out one day with some of his close agnates, fully armed, and they would try to seize by stealth and drive off as many cattle and sheep belonging to any clansman of their debtor as they could lay their hands on. Thus they could seize live-stock belonging to any Tongo man. Or if the chance presented itself they could seize live-stock belonging to people of Yaməlag or Sie, and would answer protests by 'pointing to' (*paal*) their Tongo debtor. This was legitimate, but they could not legitimately seize cattle belonging to a Zoo man in settlement of a debt due to them from a Tongo man. The Zoo people would be entitled to take severe reprisals, for Zoo and Tongo have no ties of clanship. They 'marry one another's children (*ba diit taaba biis*)'. Men who were youths in those days, and who themselves took part in such adventures, usually cite these rules of *ŋɔk* when they are explaining the nature and ramifications of clanship ties.

The people of Zoo proper have not the same local, political, and ceremonial ties with Yaməlag or Sie, and are not regarded as *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy of these two communities. But Yaməlag and Sie feel more closely akin to Zoo than to their non-Namoo neighbours.

The ties between Tongo and Zoo influence their relations in innumerable ways. A census of Zoo shows that every Zoo family (including Zoo-Yiraaŋ) is related to Tongo either by cognatic or by affinal ties. Zoo men show a preference in marriage for women from Tongo, Yaməlag, or Sie, rather than women from other equally near settlements. Thirty-five (29 per cent.) of a large and representative sample (120) of Zoo wives are Tongo women; and if the Yaməlag and Sie women are added they make up together 56 (47 per cent.) of Zoo wives. I once heard a group of elders discuss this fact, of which the people of Zoo and Tongo are well aware. A Zoo man said, 'Tongo girls like marrying us because we are such diligent farmers and always have plenty of food'. The Tongo elders denied this, and protested that they gave their daughters to Zoo rather than to men of Wakii or Tɛnzugu because of the bonds between them. 'Would we not rather', said one of them, 'marry our daughters to you, or even to Zubiuŋ, or the more distant places that used to fight on our side, than to nearer settlements which were our enemies?' Because of these ties, too, it is a grave affront for a Zoo man to abduct a Tongo man's wife or vice versa, or for a member of one clan to marry the former wife of a man of the other.

Again, the people of Zoo proper through their political head, the Chief of Biuŋ, control the great annual hunt in the Kparəg bush. They are less strict in enforcing their rights to animals which fall to the weapon of a Tongo, Yaməlag, or Sie man, than to those killed by men from other places. There is greater co-operation and camaraderie between hunting parties from Zoo, Tongo, Yaməlag, and Sie than between any of them and parties from other settlements. When the Chief of Biuŋ sends round to announce the hunt, his messengers go to all the other Namoo chiefs in Taleland, who pronounce a blessing on the enterprise and send back fowls as a contribution to the sacrifices that will have to be made. Among them the blessing and contribution of the Chief of Tongo are regarded as the most important.

These relations between Tongo and Zoo are always a matter of degree

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

upheld. I have heard the Chief of Tongo upbraid a young man of his own segment of the sub-clan for abducting the wife of a Sɛk man. The chief denounced this breach of *mabiirət* as a depravity possible only since the coming of the white man, and ordered the girl to be sent back.

Other Namoo communities are found at Pusunamoo, Baluŋ, and Kpɔlɔg (or Pwɔlɔg), beyond Dkoog. For practical purposes these Namoo groups are almost entirely cut off from Tongo. Culturally they are Gɔrisi, but Tongo people describe them as 'our kinsfolk (*ti mabiis*)'; and there is even a myth to the effect that Pusunamoo was founded by a kinsman of Mosuor who accompanied him on his flight from Mampurugu but parted company from him before he reached Tongo. As, however, these places lie beyond the horizon of the regular social relations of Tongo, their 'kinship' with Tongo becomes effective only by chance. They have no ceremonial relationship with Tongo. They do not attend Tongo funerals except as individuals drawn thither by personal cognatic ties, and they would not easily obtain redress if one of their wives were abducted by a Tongo man. Nevertheless, their 'kinship' with Tongo, nominal though it seems to be, forms an essential element, in all the Namoo communities mentioned, of the natives' view of their society and its structure. To some extent also the chain principle holds. Pusunamoo and Baluŋ have a good deal of social intercourse and regular social relations with Dkoog, and the latter serves as a link between them and Tongo. They are thus linked with Tongo loosely and by a relay, but more substantially than merely by a fiction, and through Tongo with the other branches of Mosuor's descendants.

In the Sie district, as we have seen, of the Namoo clans not held to be connected by origin with the children of Mosuor, Gban has the closest links with the latter. In the social perspective of a Tongo man, however, its identity tends to be masked by Sie. Gban is thought of as a satellite clan of Sie, in the same way as Zoo is regarded as a satellite clan of Tongo by the people of the Sie district. Spatial and political relations give rise to this point of view, and the habit of classifying social groups by contraposition gives it ready expression. This is the case also with Namɔyalug and Gar, which are connected with Sie in much the same way as Zoo is with Tongo. There are other Namoo clans or Namoo segments of composite clans in this district which fall within the political orbit of Gbee. Some are linked by ties of clanship to adjacent settlements of Gɔrisi or Namnam. Some have so far assimilated the customs and dialectal peculiarities of their Gɔrisi or Namnam neighbours that people from the centre of Taleland hardly consider them to be Tallensi, though they themselves claim to have closer social affinities with the Tallensi than with the Gɔrisi or Namnam. In this interstitial area the mosaic of micro-cultural variations and the pattern of clan organization, though similar in principle to what is found in the vicinity of Tongo, are very intricate.

Namoos from this area marry extensively with Sie and Yamɔlɔg and more frequently with Tongo than the peripheral Namoo communities on the other side, viz. Pusunamoo, Baluŋ, and Kpɔlɔg. Thus, any Tongo man is far more likely to have cognatic ties with a place like Namɔyalug

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

619 or Kpatia than with Baluŋ. He has more frequent social contact and
621 closer economic relations with the former places than with the inhabitants of the latter. In the past the people of Sie sometimes took up arms to aid Gbee or Kpatia, and Tongo people might have been drawn in to aid Sie. A Tongo man therefore thinks of Gbee and Kpatia (and this applies to the other Namoo communities in their vicinity as well) as potential war allies of his clan in former times. He never thinks of Pusunamoo, Baluŋ, or Kpoləg in this way. In spite of this, Tongo people insist that the people of Pusunamoo, at any rate, are closer kin to them than, say, the Namoos of Gbee or Kpatia, since their founding ancestor was a relative of Mosuor himself. There seems to be a contradiction between the actualities of social relations and the formal ties of putative genealogy. Other things being equal spatial proximity exercises a stronger pull than assumed genealogical proximity. This principle has a general application in Tale social structure.

The Meaning of 'Namoo'

621 The meaning of the appellation 'Namoo' in the social structure of the Tallensi has now become clear. We have examined it from the vantage point of Tongo. Had we elected to start from Gbee, for example, we should have obtained a picture built on the same principles but with a different perspective. Gɔrni-speaking Namoos beyond Kpatia, who have so remote and occasional a relevance for the normal life of Tongo that even nowadays hardly anything is known of them, are a significant element in the social frame of reference of the people of Gbee. Their community of stock and of distinctive custom which all Namoos in Taleland and the adjacent areas recognize, is not thought of as confined within territorial or political boundaries. But for every maximal lineage and clan their fellow Namoos are distributed on a graded scale of relevance according to their structural ties with them. Several factors affect the relevance of one Namoo group for another: ties of clanship; political ties; the ties of spatial contiguity or proximity; the belief in a special tie, closer than that of general kinship (*mabiirət*), by which Namoos are grouped together, and which, though assimilated to the tie of clanship on mythical grounds, is not so close as true clanship ties. All these, taken together, map out the main structural ties of any Namoo maximal lineage. These ties fall in a series of concentric zones, as it were, by which all the Namoo communities are arranged on a scale of diminishing social relevance for the unit that forms the centre of the given network of structural relations. Theoretically they extend 'from the land of the Dagomba (Dagbɔŋ) to the land of the Mossi (Mooga)', but the greater their distance in space from the central unit, the less likely are they to be actualized in the ordinary life of any of its members. In fact, outside a geographical radius of some five or six miles the farther zones of Namoo connexions have hardly any relevance for the central unit.

The pattern of social relations arising out of clanship ties in the narrow sense holds for other structural ties assimilated to them in form but founded on different factors. In respect of these ties, too, every Namoo clan or maximal lineage may be regarded as the centre of a field of

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

effective structural relations with other Namoo clans and lineages. The fields of neighbouring clans and lineages overlap one another in series, cutting across the blurred boundaries of dialect and of variations in custom. Thus Tongo's field of effective structural relations includes Biuk and Dkoog. These units lie in the Gorni-speaking area and have

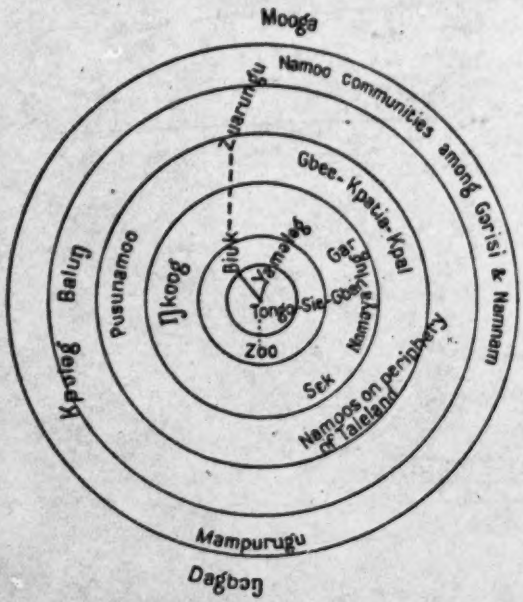

Diagram showing the Field of Clanship Relations of the Namoos of Tongo

effective structural relations with Gorisi who are only of peripheral relevance for Tongo. Tongo's field of effective structural relations overlaps that of Dkoog and that of Biuk. The latter includes the Namoos of Zuarungu, who are Gorisi, and whose field of effective structural relations overlaps that of Kumbahug. So one could trace out a series of overlapping fields of structural relations right across the country 'from Dagbon to Mooga', and running in every direction from any chosen starting-point. This constitutes the apparently limitless social ambit that corresponds to the notion of the common stock of all Namoos.

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

CHAPTER VI

THE STRUCTURAL RELATIONS OF THE TALIS

A General Point

162 A NUMERICAL estimate of the Namoos in Taleland cannot be made from the published census figures. In the Tongo district alone they would include, on a rough reckoning, over a third of the population; the rest are the Talis.

184 The Talis, as we have seen, are distinguished by name and by myths of origin from the Namoos. Close neighbours though they are, Talis and Namoos are distinctly segregated from one another by locality, and this is associated with clear-cut structural cleavages. It is necessary, however, to emphasize that Talis and Namoos are also inseparably bound to one another by ceremonial and politico-ritual ties. In addition, all Talis and all Namoos are connected with one another as individuals by an elaborate network of cognatic and affinal ties. In the present chapter we are concerned with the constituted social relations of the Talis amongst themselves, treated in isolation from the background of their social relations with the Namoos, but this background must be borne in mind.

The Clan Structure of Zubiuŋ

X618 The clans and lineages of the Talis form corporate units of the same kind as those of the Namoos. They are connected with one another by a network of constituted ties of the same type as those that link Namoo clans and lineages in a chain system, but more elaborately distributed and articulated. Again, the paradigm applies generally, but the perspective of each clan and lineage is peculiar to itself. To keep the parallel with the Namoos we shall take as our starting-point the group of Talis most intimately associated with Tongo, the people of Zubiuŋ (Zubiuŋdem).[1]

●621 As we have previously mentioned, the people of Zubiuŋ live in such close contiguity with the Tongo Namoos that anyone ignorant of the structure of the community would be unable to draw a line between the homesteads of one group and those of the other. Investigation shows that Zubiuŋ homesteads form an irregular but continuous aggregate, quite distinct, spatially, from Tongo. The nearest Tongo neighbours of Zubiuŋ are the accessory Tongo lineage of Nəŋsuur yidɛm. Consistently with the basic principles of Tale clanship, Nəŋsuur yidɛm have an intercalary status between Tongo and Zubiuŋ. The legend which relates that the ancestor of Nəŋsuur yidɛm was a sororal nephew (*ahəŋ*) of Zubiuŋ is the rationalization of their intercalary role. But though they mediate between Tongo and Zubiuŋ in political matters, for example, they have no ties of clanship with the latter, as we have previously seen.

X618 Zubiuŋ consists of three maximal lineages, residentially distributed in a way that exactly parallels their structural relations. The homesteads of

[162]

[1] Total male members, at home and abroad, about 250.

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

attached lineages, as well as for certain ritual and political ties between some groups. Thus, one segment of Tongo has a special ritual role as intermediary in the politico-ritual relations of Tongo and Zoo, and this is rationalized by the same fiction; but it does not involve ties of clanship with Zoo.

There is a close parallelism between the inter-clan linkages we have described and the spatial relations of the groups concerned. Gbizugdem are the nearest non-Namoo neighbours of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra on one side; Ba'ari is contiguous with them on the other side; and Zoo-Yiraaŋ live side by side with their clansfolk at Zubiuŋ-Yapaas. There is an asymmetry in these clanship ties which appears to be mirrored in the fictions accounting for them. Gbizug and Ba'at-Sakpar are linked by clanship ties in exactly the same way as they are linked with Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra, but neither has ties of clanship with Zoo-Yiraaŋ.

Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra has more frequent and closer relations and a stronger sense of fraternity with Gbizug than with its other two linked maximal lineages at Zoo and at Ba'ari. This is fostered by proximity and by the belief enshrined in their myth of origin. Thus, when a Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra tendaana dies and his funeral ceremonies are performed, the heads of all three linked maximal lineages have to send an obligatory contribution of porridge, specially prepared 'to set out for the dead (*zien kpiim la*)'. They act, then, in the same way as the other two Zubiuŋ lineages, which are also obliged to send this contribution. But Gbizugdem do more than make a merely formal acknowledgement of their ties with the dead man's lineage; they take part in the funeral to a much greater extent than Ba'at-Sakpar or Zoo-Yiraaŋ. Their representatives never fail to attend all the important ritual events of the funeral, whereas the representatives of the other two linked maximal lineages appear only at the exoteric public ceremonies, such as the final divination when the beer is distributed. The social relations of Gbizug with Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra give them a place, as it were, half-way between the other Zubiuŋ maximal lineages and the other two linked maximal lineages in point of intimacy and corporate cohesion. Every Yakɔra man knows the wives of the men of Gbizug almost as well as the wives of his own clansmen. He speaks of them all as his 'wives', for he has a right to inherit any of them if they remain widows. If he meets one of them by chance he will chaff her, as if she were a Zubiuŋ wife. Most of the wives of the men of Ba'at-Sakpar or Zoo-Yiraaŋ are quite unknown to him, though formally he has the same rights in respect of them.

The Gradation of Clanship Ties

What distinguishes the bonds of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra with Gbizug from their apparently identical bonds with their clansmen of Zubiuŋ is this: the latter are bound to perform all the duties of close *sunzɔp*, the former are under the much more limited obligation of giving expression to their ties of clanship through one or two formal acts. The latter, for example, are obliged to attend and to conduct all the important rites of a Yakɔra tendaana's funeral, whereas Gbizugdem come voluntarily, and if they undertake any task do so out of courtesy and friendliness. Similarly, the

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marry with them, though it is politically and ritually part of the clan of Ba'ari. 618x

Apart from these variations the pattern of clanship at Ba'ari is the same as at Zubiuŋ, the pattern common to all the clans mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. Local relationships run parallel with clanship ties, so that spatially contiguous lineages are more closely linked than spatially distant lineages. The component maximal lineages of each clan have a well-defined autonomy in relation to one another, organized in each case around a ritual office (either the tɛndaanaship or some other office associated with the cult of the Earth or the cult of the External *Bɔyar*) which is exclusively vested in a particular lineage. Each maximal lineage has its distinctive field of clanship within which 'brotherhood' (*sunzɔt*) varies in degrees of closeness from that which prevails within the clan to that of *sunzɔt*-by-courtesy. The field of clanship of any one maximal lineage overlaps, but is not congruent with, that of any other maximal lineage of the same clan; and the unity and corporate identity of the clan are focused in the cult of the *Bɔyar*, the common shrine of all the ancestors, and the cult of the Earth. Lastly, every maximal lineage has an intercalary function corresponding to its local and clanship ties.

The further extensions of this mesh of clanship ties can be rapidly summarized. Soog is locally and structurally intercalary between the cluster of clans we have been discussing and Tɛnzugu. Internally constituted like Zubiuŋ, it has ties of clanship with Sakpee, Gundaat, and Kpata'ar, all three Tɛnzugu clans, and with Wopo'ohug near Gbambee. Gundaat and Tamboog are clansfolk as well as neighbours. Though they are more autonomous in relation to each other than two segments of the same clan, their reciprocal privileges and obligations are closer than those of linked lineages of different clans. They have similar ties to those of Gbizug and Gbeog, though their origins are said to be diverse. Both have ties of clanship with one segment of Sakpee but not with the other, and Gundaat also has ties of clanship with an attached lineage at Wakii and with Wɔyar. 618x 621●

Kpata'ar, contiguous with Gundaat but not related to it by ties of clanship, comprises three maximal lineages. It is the senior of these, Kpata'arna'ab yidɛm, who have ties of clanship with Soog; and they also have such ties with Degal and with one section of Sɛk, the Namoo group at the foot of the hills, as well as with their next-door neighbours Dakuor yidɛm of Bunkiuk. The second maximal lineage, Nakyeet yidɛm, is linked with Sakpee—but not with the lineages of other clans to which the other sections of Kpata'ar are linked. The third lineage of Kpata'ar is on the point of extinction, and its clanship ties need not be enumerated.

Bunkiuk, besides being linked with Kpata'ar through Dakuor yidɛm, includes two more maximal lineages, Gɔlibdaan yidɛm and Yirsan yidɛm, which have no ties of clanship with Kpata'ar. Gɔlibdaan yidɛm have clanship ties with one of the constituent lineages of Yinduuri but not with the rest of Yinduuri, and Yirsan yidɛm are the *sunzɔp* of Sipaat. The closest extra-clan *sunzɔp* of the latter are the people of Sii, from whose founding ancestor they also claim to be descended. But whereas Sii has clanship ties with Yinduuri, their neighbours on one side, and with a section of

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

618 Kpɔlɔg (Pwɔlɔg), Sipaat has no ties of clanship with either of these
621 places. Yinduuri, a clan whose inner constitution is a miniature replica of the whole system of interlacing clanship ties which we have been describing, is contiguous with Zandoya but has no ties of clanship with it. Zandoya's clanship ties link it with Gorogo, which in turn is linked with a group of Gɔrisi, who live in the Bɔlɔga district.

This is but one series of concatenated clan linkages running from end to end of the Tongo district and even, like those of the Namoos, extending across to the Gɔrisi. Similar chains of clanship ties link the other Talis clans to one another and to this series; and the whole forms an elaborately reticulated system which stretches beyond the linguistic and cultural frontiers of Taleland. By these chains of clanship ties the Talis are linked on to peoples outside Taleland who live quite beyond the boundaries of their regular interests and concerns.

618 We have been discussing clanship in the narrow sense—that is, ties implying the prohibition of marriage, joint leviratic rites, the reciprocal privileges and duties of *sunzɔp*, and such things as the liability in former times to be raided for one another's debts. As a rule, every constituent maximal lineage of every clan has such ties with one or more territorially contiguous lineages of neighbouring clans. Most of them also have clanship ties with some lineages of clans not adjacent to them, but not very far away, reckoning the distance in terms of the number of unrelated clans intervening and not by geographical criteria. There is no fixed rule; but within this cluster of settlements it is always a safe prediction that the greater the distance separating two clans the less likely are they to be linked by clanship.

618 In addition, every clan recognizes one or more clans in its vicinity as
608 *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy. Soog and Wakii; Gundaat, Kpata'ar, and Bunkiuk; Yinduur and Zandoya; Sii and Gorogo: these consider one another to be *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy, and they generally appear at one another's funerals in this capacity.

618 As with Zubiuŋ and the clans adjacent to it, so among the Hill Talis,
[183] the ties which make up the field of clanship of any maximal lineage are not all of equal strength. The critical norms have an absolute value. Clanship prohibits intermarriage, vests defined rights and obligations in each lineage, and implies a solidarity which is incompatible with hostile acts like war or abducting one another's wives, or raiding one another's cattle. If these norms are infringed, as inevitably happens now and then, they are not thereby invalidated. The infringement tends to provoke processes which cancel out its effects and either re-establish the invulnerability of the norms or bring about a new alinement of structural ties, which neutralizes the breach. At the same time spatial distribution has a selective influence on the extent and frequency of the intercourse between lineages linked by ties of clanship. Proximity encourages more frequent and regular co-operation in situations which mobilize ties of clanship. Other factors, too, influence the gradation of clanship ties, the most important of these being the fact that solidarity, co-operation, and mutual dependence are greater within the clan than between linked lineages of different clans. Besides having a specific field of clanship, each maximal

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CHAPTER X

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF A SETTLEMENT

Introduction

621 A TALE settlement is a miniature of the whole society, and reveals all the basic principles of the social structure. No two settlements are identical in topography, shape, size, or social composition; but all have the same social form, based on the same principles. Yet it is no easy task to describe a settlement as the natives see it. It cannot be isolated from neighbouring units of the same kind by inspection; for though it is locally fixed it is not territorially circumscribed. Its structure is unintelligible without reference to the lineage system, but ecological exigencies and political and ritual ties and cleavages play an important part in it as well.

361 The anatomy of a settlement appears in fullest relief during the dry
221 season. Then the homesteads stand out starkly against the dun background of bare earth or the glare of rocks and boulders piled up in red-grey masses in the hilly areas. The foot-paths winding between the homesteads scar the land as if etched into it by generations of feet. Every shade tree in front of a homestead is an inviting landmark. Sacred groves, looking temptingly cool when the sun is high, are unmistakable. The water-holes, pits, and ditches, flooded beyond recognition in the latter part of the rainy season, can easily be distinguished. The boundaries of farm-plots, overgrown with crops and weeds during the rains, are now clearly visible. The landscape is a map of the social relations of the people. This is the season, too, when life goes on largely in the open. There is leisure for gossip and conversation; for paying visits, strolling in the market, going a-courting, making long journeys, dancing in the moonlight; for hunting and fishing drives; there is time also, and the necessary supplies, for the performance of funeral ceremonies and other ritual activities. It is in such events that the structure of Tale society is most vividly actualized.

Types of Settlement and Distribution of Population

361 Two main types of settlements are found: those of ancient habitation (*tɛŋkɔrəg*, old country), covering all the centre of the country, especially on and around the Tong Hills, and including the majority of the Tallensi; and those of recent foundation (*tɛŋpaaləg*, new country), towards the periphery of this area. Though the basic plan is the same, the principles on which a settlement is built operate with different emphasis in each type.

361 Neither territorial extent nor density of aggregation affects the basic
621 plan of a settlement. The range of variation is very great. Moreover, processes of expansion and contraction continuously alter the extent of a settlement. Thus, Yamələg and Tongo are ancient settlements of the same general structure, though the latter is four or five times the size of

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the former; and Biuŋ, with 25 homesteads and less than 400 inhabitants, is a peripheral settlement of the same type as Datɔk, which has over 600 homesteads and between 5,000 and 6,000 inhabitants. The whole of Biuŋ can be seen from one of the hummocks on which it stands, but it takes an hour's ride on horseback to get round the whole of Datɔk.

The density and distribution of habitation varies somewhat from one part of the country to another. The broad undulating plain on the north side of the Tong Hills permits of dense settlement, whereas the plain stretching south and south-east of the hills carries a relatively sparse population.[1]

Differences of altitude and of drainage probably explain this. During the rains a large part of the southern plain becomes too waterlogged for cultivation or for human habitation. Many of the Hill Talis went to live there when they were dispersed in 1911.[2] Though they have always cultivated bush farms there, wherever the lie of the land is suitable, they look back on their exile as a doubly miserable interlude on account of the uncomfortable and unhealthy conditions in which they had perforce to live. Accustomed to their well-drained hills, they hated the interminable swamp, as it seemed to them, into which the plain is transformed during the rains; and hardened though they are, they found the mosquitoes and other noxious insects that swarm there during this season an intolerable plague.

From the top of the Tong Hills, looking northwards, one has a view of what seems to be an endless plain, dotted meagrely with trees, and studded closely, as far as the eye can reach, with homesteads. They are identical in appearance, squat, circular, drab-grey or red, like the soil itself, mostly thatch-roofed, and seem to be scattered indiscriminately, some close together, others farther apart. There is nothing to indicate where one settlement ends and the next begins. Homesteads here, in the old settlements, are often no more than 20 yards apart.

The density of population is greater in the old than in the new settlements, and greater in the vicinity of the Tong Hills than in settlements nearer to the periphery. I cannot state how great the difference is, as I had neither the time nor the training for a comprehensive demographic survey. Sociological observation suggests that the amount of arable land available is an important factor, though not the only one, determining density of population in the older areas of settlement. This is as one would expect of a sedentary population of subsistence farmers. In the new settlements there is ample land, and men have large home farms immediately adjoining their homesteads, which are therefore often as

[1] I have no exact figures. From the statistics given in the census of 1931 (*Appendices containing Comparative Returns and General Statistics of the 1931 Census, Gold Coast*, Government Printer, 1932) it appears that the large area lying between Pwolɔg (Kpolɔg), the centre of the Tong Hills, and a straight line from there to the Red and White Volta—that is, this southern plain—had about 5,000 inhabitants in 1931, only one-seventh of the total population of Taleland. This included many people who were then in exile and now live on and around the Tong Hills.

[2] By order of the British Administration, after the punitive expedition against them. Cf. p. 12 above.

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pression liable to flooding in the rainy season. The people of the Tong Hills consider themselves to be particularly fortunate in this respect. Their homesteads stretch densely across the slopes of the hills, and amid the great boulders and rocky piles of the summit. Singing the praises of their tiny fastness, they contrast it with the plain, where one is always ankle-deep in mud and slush during the rains and scorched by the sun in the dry season. On the hills, they say, a sheltered nook can always be found among the rocks, shady when the sun is most cruel, dry in the severest storm, where the children can play or the grown-ups sit and talk.

The Stability and Continuity of a Settlement

Stability and continuity are essential characteristics of a settlement. They are implied in the native concept of a *tɛŋ* (settlement) as both a definite locality and a fixed community. The ancient settlements have attained a very high degree of stability and continuity. The peripheral settlements are rapidly ceasing to be mere economic apanages to the older centres of habitation, and are taking on the form of permanent and stable units. Being still in process of organization, their structure is fluid compared with that of the ancient settlements, and the dynamic factors of Tale social structure sometimes appear more conspicuously in them than in the latter.

But the older settlements are by no means static. The bounds, the layout, and the internal constitution of a settlement alter continuously, if very slowly. Even in a single year one can see how processes of expansion and contraction, of segmentation and incorporation, are at work all the time. Whenever land changes hands by inheritance, or an office passes by succession, or a man achieves economic independence, a minor reshuffle in the collocation of homesteads takes place. The cumulative effects of these processes of slow but progressive readjustment are clearly exhibited in the contemporary structure of a settlement. They are documented in its constitution and layout, in the location of ancestral graves, the ownership of farm plots, and in ceremonial and political relations. Fixity of location and of the structural plan ensure the stability and continuity of a Tale settlement.

Topographical Distinctions and the Natives' Knowledge of Natural History

Precise local orientation is essential in the economic activities and social relations of the Tallensi. Place-names are often derived from prominent topographical or geographical features. Thus, Tɛnzugu means the head (*zug*) or highest part of the country (*tɛŋ*), Yaɣazuor means 'perched on a hill', and many other place-names are popularly believed to be corruptions of topographical or spatial metaphors. Within a settlement topographical variations are distinguished by terms like *tɛŋr*, the lower part (the locative of *tɛŋ*, here in the sense of 'ground'), and *saazugu*, the higher part (lit. head-high, or high up). Conspicuous patches of low-lying land, hillocks, rock piles, ditches, water-holes, streams, &c., are named, and are very often sacred spots. The name may indicate peculiar qualities of the soil, prominent trees, or other landmarks formerly or still

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In marked contrast is the average person's ignorance of settlements, even near at hand, with which his clan has no close social bonds or with which he has no personal links of kinship or friendship. Tallensi acquire their knowledge of geography and natural history gradually in childhood, by direct experience. It is already well established by the age of 9 or 10, and grows *pari passu* with the expansion of the child's social space. The basis of this is the child's natal settlement, where, except for occasional visits to kinsfolk elsewhere, it spends its entire childhood. But even adults had little liberty of movement in the past, since they could hardly go unmolested in settlements unrelated to theirs by clanship or political ties or where they had no kinsfolk. Most of the older people have never been outside Taleland, and many of them have never, or only rarely, visited some of the settlements within an hour's walk of their own.

A Talaŋ inevitably has a profound emotional attachment to his native settlement. It is striking how many Tale emigrants return home eventually after years of absence, casting aside the flesh-pots of Ashanti or the rich fields of Mampurugu. '*Kpala m-mah*—Here it is pleasant', they say, in spite of the penury of existence; for here are your kith and kin, here is the scene of your childhood joys and sorrows, and above all, the abode of your forefathers. The Talaŋ's empirical knowledge of his habitat is the precipitate in his thought and experience of the economic and structural facts that determine the local fixity of his native settlement. His affective attachment to it finds an institutionalized expression and support in the ancestor cult.

Settlement Boundaries

The hub of Taleland is Tongo (see map on p. 15). This ancient settlement, geographically central and politically nodal in the network of interclan relations, provides a very good model of the structure of a typical Tale settlement.

As we know, the Tongo branch of Mosuor biis live in such close spatial and social propinquity with Zubiuŋ, Gbizug, and Zoo that these clans are often spoken of collectively as 'the people of Tongo (Tɔŋdɛm)'. For precision, Tongo proper is referred to as Tɔŋ-Nayiri—the Chief's House of Tongo—all over Taleland. Throughout the Mole-Dagbane-speaking region clans which hold a chiefship are thus identified by reference to it. Those which have tɛndaanas are sometimes called Tɛndaaŋ, on the same principle. Thus outsiders distinguish between Sie-Nayiri and Sie-Tɛndaaŋ.

Tɔŋ-Nayiri, Tongo proper, forms an irregular block of homesteads, somewhat less than three square miles in area and is one of the largest settlements in Taleland. It comprised, in 1934, 192 homesteads and a total population of about 2,400.[1] This does not include Tongo people

[1] Calculations, based on my own census samples and on figures kindly supplied to me by the A.D.C. Zuarungu, show that in Taleland the average number of people of both sexes and all ages occupying a homestead is 12 to 14. Owing to the variation in the constitution of homesteads this figure must be accepted with reserve; but it is sufficient for a rough estimate of population in a country where accurate statistics do not exist.

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living at Zoo and Gbambee, though they are an integral part of the community.

Like all Tale settlements Tongo has no fixed territorial boundaries. (See map at end of book.) Its frontiers with the circumjacent settlements take the form of a social circumference, kept in being by local, genealogical, and politico-ritual ties and cleavages. This is the line of ecological and social balance between Tongo and its neighbours, more or less stable now, but still undergoing minor readjustments as this balance changes with alterations in the internal equilibrium of any of these units. It is most stable and firm where the genealogical, political, and ideological cleavages between Tongo and its neighbours are clear-cut and dominant; it is more pervious where Tongo's structural ties with an adjacent clan have greater strength than the cleavages between them. Thus, there is a distinct though sometimes narrow territorial separation between the outermost homesteads of Tongo and those of Wakii, Soog, Gbeog, and Ba'ari. At one point on the west side of Tongo only a stretch of cultivation separates Tongo homesteads from Wakii homesteads a stone's throw away. Tongo homesteads actually lie on the Wakii side of the watercourse which might have formed a natural boundary between them. On the south this watercourse and a straggling outcrop of rocks and boulders wedge in Tongo and mark it off from Wakii. A prominent landmark here is Samoo, a mass of huge rocks overgrown with trees and scrub. It is a sacred spot, the External *Bɔyar* of Soog and Gbeog. North of Samoo lies Tongo, the nearest Tongo homestead being about 50 yards away; south of it are Wakii and Soog. It would be most unlikely for a Tongo man to build his homestead on the south side of Samoo, or for a Soog or Wakii man to live north of it. For Samoo symbolizes all that the Namoos consider alien, hostile, and to some extent repugnant, in the cultural differences and structural cleavages between themselves and the Hill Talis. In olden days the immediate vicinity of Samoo was the no-man's-land where the two groups used to meet in battle.

Soog, Wakii, Gbeog, and Ba'ari, all Talis clans that were among the traditional enemies of Tongo in war, are all demarcated from the latter. On the border between Tongo and each of these clans is a stretch of land, cultivated or uncultivated, but free of homesteads, which is still thought of as the traditional battle-ground of the two groups. It is significant that these battle-grounds are all associated with Earth or *Bɔyar* shrines under the ritual jurisdiction of the Talis clans.

By contrast it is impossible to draw a clear line between the homesteads of Tongo and those of Zubiuŋ or Zoo. They merge completely. This corresponds to the close ties which have always existed between these three units and have enabled them to fuse easily into a single political community under the authority of the Chief of Tongo, since his acquisition of judicial and executive power under British rule.

In the old days Zubiuŋ and Zoo always fought on the side of Tongo against the Hill Talis. Both clans have direct politico-ritual roles in connexion with the Tongo chiefship, and come into its immediate field of influence, whereas the Hill Talis and Ba'ari come into its secondary field of influence. The three clans act as *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy (cf. ch. V) to

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

618 one another in funerals and similar ceremonial events. These ceremonial
[608] reciprocities do not prevail between Tongo or Zoo and any of the Hill Talis clans adjacent to them.

621 Nevertheless, a palpable social boundary still prevails between Tongo
184 and Zubiuŋ, but one far less determinate than that between Tongo and its other Talis neighbours. No Zubiuŋ homesteads are so situated as to be surrounded on all sides by Tongo homesteads, and vice versa; there is no indiscriminate mingling of the homesteads of the two clans. Looked at from within, both Zubiuŋ and Tongo are self-contained spatial units within their respective social circumferences. This is correlated with their contrasting totemic observances, clan cults, and politico-ritual offices; their mutual exclusiveness by the canon of agnatic descent and the liberty to intermarry that goes with this; and their consequent divergent jural interests as distinct corporate units; the people of Tongo are Namoos, the Zubiuŋdem Talis. The observer is constantly apprised of this in the attitudes and opinions of individuals, in economic activities, and in jural and ritual events, the very activities and events which reveal the close bonds of the two groups. Tongo people never scrupled to raid their weaker Zubiuŋ neighbours for cattle owed to them, as many old men relate from personal experience. On the other hand, responsible elders and chiefs of Tongo, in those days, disapproved strongly of resort to violent self-help against Zubiuŋ by their people, though they could not always prevent it—an attitude they would never adopt in regard to the other Talis. To-day Tongo and Zubiuŋ people regard one another with a certain amount of suspicion and good-natured superiority, tempered with a tolerance which the former never show towards the other Talis.

621 A similar, but more elastic, social boundary exists between Tongo and
184 Zoo. There are no Zoo people living inside Tongo, but no less than 11
166 of the 39 homesteads situated on the land under the ritual jurisdiction of Zoo-Yiraaŋ, within the social circumference of Zoo, are the homes of permanent immigrants from Tongo. The bond of common stock (*buurət*) between these two locally allied and politically associated Namoo clans blurs the cleavages between them. Tongo people find it the more congenial to live amongst Zoo people in considerable numbers because they have the same ritual observances, mortuary and funeral customs, and politico-ritual offices and values. It is mainly cultural differences of this kind that deter them from settling amongst the people of Zubiuŋ.

The one-sided filtration of Tongo people into Zoo, and the absence of the reverse process, are due mainly to the density of habitation—which is so great as to preclude immigration—and the obvious excess of population at Tongo. Zoo people who wish to emigrate, temporarily or permanently, move farther afield, to Gbambee or Biuŋ. In any case, the flow of migration from Tongo to Zoo has apparently reached saturation, for it has now practically stopped. But this movement, though at bottom an ecological readjustment, has been canalized by the social structure; and while it brings out the affinities of Tongo with Zoo, it also emphasizes their separateness. Because they are structurally independent of each other, Tongo people only migrate to Zoo if they have matrilateral kin there who will grant them land to build on and farm. By contrast,

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

621 people from Tongo and Zoo settle at Gbambee, which is only an overflow
166 settlement, irrespective of kinship or lineage relationships, usually on land
184 formerly utilized by their forefathers as bush farms.

Elastic as it is, the social boundary between Tongo and Zoo has not
621 disappeared. This is shown in the effort made by the people of Zoo,
182 during the past two generations, to resist being swallowed up politically
178 by Tongo. To preserve the autonomous status of the chiefship of Biuŋ, which is vested in the Zoo Namoos, the chiefs of Biuŋ now reside there permanently instead of at Zoo, as in former times. It is evident, also, from the recognition by leading men of both groups, that they are now more closely united than in the days of their fathers. They describe this as part of the general trend towards wider political consolidation, both within clans and between neighbouring communities, 'since the white man tamed us (*nasaara m-maa ti*)'. They commonly quote a trivial but telling sign of this. Nowadays one often finds a group of Zoo boys pasturing their cattle side by side with a group of young cattle herds from Tongo, and playing amicably with them. 'When I was a boy', a Zoo elder
[578] said, 'this never happened. The Tongo children were strangers to us, and our fathers used to warn us not to go near them, for we always used to fight and that would cause bad blood.'

621 Between Tongo and Gbeog dwells the numerically small (they number under fifty males) but socially powerful maximal lineage of Gbizug. A social boundary, intermediate in character between that which separates Tongo from Zubiuŋ and that which demarcates it from the Hill Talis, runs between it and Gbizug. They are more distinctly separated, territorially, than Tongo and Zubiuŋ, yet so closely contiguous that constant friendly intercourse and mutual assistance is a regular feature of the relations of members of the two units with one another. At the same time, the cleavage in terms of descent, ritual observances, and jural interests goes deeper than with Zubiuŋ. Gbizug is closely allied to the Hill Talis and Ba'ari by ties of clanship, politico-ritual collaboration, and common ritual values. It is also bound to Tongo by inescapable ties of politico-ritual interdependence and mutual constraint. This accentuates the social boundary between them. The politico-ritual function of Gbizug is to hold the balance between Tongo and the Hill Talis. It stands aloof in their disputes, taking neither side, for it belongs equally to both and wholly to neither. Thus, important ceremonial events at Gbizug are attended both by representatives of Tongo and by representatives of the adjacent Hill Talis clans and Ba'ari, though the former take a more distant, passive, and extraneous part in them than the latter.

621 We have mentioned Gbambee, a settlement of about 25 to 30 home-
166 steads straggling over a row of stony hillocks alongside a great stretch of
167 low-lying bush, most of it uncultivable, which lies just beyond Zoo. This is regarded as merely an outpost of Tongo and Zoo, where the younger men, who are most handicapped by the scarcity of land at home, can find an economic outlet. Hence a man may live there for many years, grow old and die there, but he is generally brought back to Tongo or Zoo for burial among his ancestors. There are many indications, however, that Gbambee will soon become stabilized as a permanent settlement.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

A small number of Tongo people have gone yet farther afield in search of a livelihood: to Biun and other peripheral settlements, to Mampurugu, and, increasingly in recent years, to the tempting Eldorado of Ashanti and the Colony. Thus, not all the members of the Tongo branch of Mosuor biis and its accessory lineages live at Tongo at any given time; but within its confines live only members of the sub-clan and their families; and for all members of the sub-clan, wherever they may be living, Tongo is their home, the centre of gravity of their social existence.

We have said before that no two Tale settlements are exactly alike. Allowing for specific differences, however, the local and social circumscription of Tongo may be taken as typical. The general rule is that boundaries exist in terms of social cleavages co-ordinated with residential distribution, and not of geographical or topographical features; and this rule applies both to the spatial relations of contiguous settlements and to those of parts of a settlement with one another. Community and locality cannot be dissociated. The maxim, 'A *tey* is not a *tey* if there are no people in it', always cited to explain the strong sense of ethical obligation felt by the natives to accept a suitable immigrant in any community, if land is available, sums this up. The boundary disputes that have become common between chiefs and headmen in recent years turn on the contradiction between the conception of a defined territorial boundary fostered by British rule, and the type of social boundary inherent in the native social structure.

A revealing case occurred among the Hill Talis. The elaborate interlocking of the Hill Talis clans with one another through clanship ties, ritual collaboration, local cohesion, and political loyalties, and the diffused solidarity to which this gives rise, impel them to common or mutually supporting action in crises. Yet even among them, social boundaries divide clan from clan and maximal lineage from maximal lineage both spatially and structurally, and come into operation in certain situations. But these social boundaries are far less firm than those between Tongo and its neighbours. Groups of contiguous clans cohere to nearly the same extent as a genealogically organic community like Tongo. Tenzugu, in particular, and Yinduuri-Zandoya, form two such close-knit sub-communities within the wider community of all the Hill Talis.

Since 1936 a boundary dispute has embittered the relations of the Golibdaana and the Yinduurna'aba, who are recognized by the Administration as headman of Tenzugu and headman of Yinduur-Zandoya respectively. It is an insoluble dispute, bound to remain a chronic source of friction as long as these two headmen exercise the territorially defined powers entrusted to them by the Administration.

The dispute concerns a segment of Zandoya living on the slope of the Hills between Yinduuri and Tenzugu. It was at length, after many evasions on the Golibdaana's part, brought before the Chief of Tongo for arbitration. But this ended, inevitably, in a deadlock. The Golibdaana, crafty and overweening, as only a man of his extravagant wealth and unyielding temper could be, when he knew himself to be in the wrong, took his stand on a criterion often used by Administrative officers in such disputes. The group in question, he claimed, was living on land that

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

621 578 423 comes under the ritual jurisdiction of the Degal tɛndaana, the ritual 'owner' of the land of Bunkiuk, the Golibdaana's clan. As the head of Bunkiuk and headman of Tɛnzugu, which includes Degal, he held political authority over all the territory under the ritual jurisdiction of the latter. Hence this strip of territory, as far as the watercourse, belonged to him. The people dwelling there were no concern of his; let them go elsewhere if they wished.

The Yinduurna'aba, a simple and inarticulate old man, who has never mastered the wiles of modern headmanship, protested vehemently. The Golibdaana's arguments were untenable. The ritual jurisdiction of tɛndaanas had nothing to do with the matter. In any case the Zandoya tɛndaana would contest the Degal tɛndaana's claim. Everybody knows that tɛndaanas acknowledge no boundaries. The group in question was a segment of Zandoya. How could they belong to any other political unit than the latter? To talk of their abendoning the land on which their ancestors had dwelt was preposterous. Indeed, the whole situation was something quite unheard of; it could never have occurred before the coming of the white man, when everyone had his acknowledged place in the society. The truth was that the Golibdaana was deliberately trying to entice his people away from him.

There the matter rested. The case was widely discussed and public opinion, except for the Golibdaana's supporters, sided unanimously with the Yinduurna'aba. Five other cases of the same kind came to my notice; and in all of them the verdict of native custom is unequivocal; social affiliation and not alleged territorial boundaries define the extent of a community. Even the new settlements, though they sprawl more widely than the old settlements and are usually surrounded by considerable tracts of uninhabited land, have no defined geographical boundaries. They can and do go on expanding.

The Concept of the Tɛŋ

621 A Tale settlement can only be identified as a unit by reference to the lineage relationships, politico-ritual ties and cleavages, and jural rights and duties, prevailing within it and between it and its neighbours. That is why we have avoided the word 'village', which conjures up the image of a neatly isolated, compact territorial unit. *Tɛŋ* (pl. *tɛs*) is the native concept denoting a settlement; but no English translation can convey its exact sense. In some ways it is reminiscent of the deme of ancient Greece, a coalescence of local association, lineage organization, common religious cult, and political solidarity. None of these factors serves to demarcate a *tɛŋ* absolutely from adjacent *tɛs*; all of them link together neighbouring *tɛs* or parts of *tɛs* as closely in respect of that one category of social relations as they unite segments of the same *tɛŋ*. A settlement is only a relatively autonomous community. One might perhaps define it as the region of maximum overlap of all the categories of social relations found among the Tallensi.

621 619 829 Native linguistic usage reflects this, for *tɛŋ* has a width of reference varying with the situation. A man beginning a discourse on marriage with '*ti tɛŋɔ, nyɛn di poya* . . .—In this our land, if you marry a wife . . .'

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

is thinking of the country at large as a unit with respect to marriage customs. Hill Talis often describe Tongo, Zubiuŋ, and Zoo as one *tɛŋ*. They are thinking of the close bonds uniting these places in opposition to themselves. But Tongo, Zubiuŋ, and Zoo are always distinct *tɛs* to one another. Tɛnzugu is described as a single *tɛŋ* when the coherence and close interdependence of the group of clans inhabiting it are emphasized; but when their genealogical cleavages loom foremost they are designated as separate *tɛs*. In the struggle for political dominance now going on between the head of Kpata'ar and the head of Bunkiuk, the partisans of both bitterly denounce one another for 'breaking up the unity of the *tɛŋ*', but insist, at the same time, that each clan holds its *tɛŋ* in its own right and does not come under the jurisdiction of any other, according to native custom.

Underlying these variations in usage is the generic conception of *tɛŋ* as a locality defined in relation to a corporate unit of social structure, a lineage, clan, or interconnected group of clans; and the variation in the width of reference of the concept reflects the variation in the range of corporate solidarity that is effective in different situations. In war the Tɛnzugu clans all hold together; in the matter of marriage one of them might quite easily come into conflict with another. The confluence of local, lineage, and politico-ritual relations, as we have previously noted, is the keel of Tale social organization.

Tɛŋ, like all the key concepts of Tale social organization, has a ritual significance as well. It denotes the Earth in its mystical aspect, either in the generic sense or in the specific sense of a particular sacred spot and its precincts. What is a *tɛŋ* in the sphere of secular relations may be, but often is not, a *tɛŋ* in the system of religious beliefs. There are two aspects to locality as a correlate of social structure: the secular aspect and the sacred. They merge in the social organization and the social philosophy of the Tallensi, and consequently also in linguistic usage. Sometimes one aspect is the focus of a social activity, sometimes the other, sometimes both together. If a man repeats the conventional formula, '*Tɛŋ la pu sayat ziem la ni*—The Earth does not permit bloodshed', his exclusive reference to the mystical aspect of the Earth is obvious; if he says of another settlement or region, '*Ba tɛŋ la mar ki pam*—Their land has plenty of grain', he is thinking solely of the material and secular denotation of the word; if he says of Ba'ari, '*Bam tɛŋ kuob la pu dara*—In their settlement farms are not sold', his implication to anyone familiar with native beliefs is that it is a taboo of the Earth (in its mystical character) at Ba'ari to sell parcels of the earth (in its material character).

Postponing for the moment the further elucidation of these ideas, we may note their most commonplace expression in Tale custom. A settlement name is *ipso facto* the name of the clan or group of maximal lineages whose home it is. A custom arising out of the rule of clan exogamy is that of addressing a wife by an appellation indicating her clan of birth. Most often it is the clan place-name, e.g. Zubieŋa, Wakiiŋa. It may be the name of a well-known *tɛŋgban* in her natal settlement, e.g. Ba'ari women are called Saniiga, after the sacred grove of that name in Ba'ari. It may be a name indicating differences of custom and belief that distinguish her

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

clan from her husband's, e.g. Namooga, the appellation used by Talis for their Tongo wives. Lastly, it may be a name taken from some politico-ritual office vested in her clan or maximal lineage, e.g. Bɔyaraan, for Sii women, Tɛndaan-bii for Gbizug women. This shows how, without explicit formulation, the notions of locality, lineage, sacred attributes of the Earth, distinctive customs, and politico-ritual office—the major themes of Tale social and political organization—are linked together in a single ideological configuration.

The Section—Yizug

With the exception of the settlements of a few small clans not divided into maximal lineages of independent descent, all clan settlements are further divided into sections. The principles that regulate the structure of the settlement as a whole also determine the structure of its sections and of segments of these sections. This rests on the fact that the different orders of segmentation in the maximal lineage are serially homologous. An old-established settlement is the home of a clan or sub-clan. It is built up on the lineage system. All groupings and alinements that emerge in corporate affairs tend to follow lineage ties and cleavages. Thus, a section is a local subdivision of the *teŋ* occupied by a defined segment of the clan or maximal lineage. *Yizug* (pl. *yizugɔt*), the native term here translated by 'section', means literally 'Superior House',[1] and shows that the genealogical criterion predominates in the native definition of a section. Occasionally people speak of a *yizug* or part of a *yizug* as a *faaŋ* (quarter, pl. *fɔna*), using a term more common among the Mamprusi, when they are thinking of it primarily as a residential unit.

In the new settlements, however, the *yizug* is predominantly a local subdivision. This is due to their genealogical heterogeneity and political immaturity. At Datɔk, for example, one finds Gorisi, Tallensi, and Namnam from many different clans, drawn thither by the need for land, and connected with one another not by lineage but by ties of extra-clan kinship and affinity. Moreover, before British rule brought security and gave the titular chief of Datɔk real authority over it, its population was small and largely temporary, and constituted a group of loosely associated neighbours, not a political community. In these circumstances the subdivision of the settlement on strictly local lines is inevitable, the more so as the present-day administrative organization is based on territorial groupings.

Primarily, a *yizug* is a localized lineage segment of a clan settlement. But, characteristically, the Tallensi often extend its reference to denote a whole clan, considered as a member of an interlocking group of adjacent clans that have a greater degree of political solidarity and social cohesion *inter se* than any of them have with other clans. Tɛnzugu, as we have seen, is the outstanding instance of such a community. Tɛnzugu elders often describe the six clans dwelling there as 'our six *yizugɔt*' when they recapitulate stories of fights with Tongo in the days of long ago. It is a phrase constantly heard in the invocations to the ancestor spirits

[1] *Yir*, 'house', or, in this context, 'lineage', and *zug*, 'head', or by extension, 'superior, supreme'.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

and the Earth when representatives of the various clans gather to perform one of the great annual ceremonies, as their ritual obligations compel them to, even though they are nowadays divided into two hostile camps. For these are the occasions when the essential unity of Tɛnzugu—a unity in relation to which the six clans rank merely as *yizugɔt*—can rightly be insisted upon, when frank reproaches verging on warnings of spiritual retribution can be directed against the destroyers of this unity.

Yet in other situations the component maximal lineages of a particular Tɛnzugu clan are referred to as its *yizugɔt*. Thus, in connexion with their distinct ritual offices in the cult of the External *Bɔɣar* or their divergent clanship linkages, the three maximal lineages of Bunkiuk are always described as *yizugɔt*. For, like the clan in relation to its neighbour clans, the maximal lineage forms a distinct genealogical and residential unity within the clan settlement. Looked at from within, each maximal lineage is a relatively autonomous integral unit, the majority of whose members live close together inside its social boundaries, which are defined in relation to the other lineages of the clan in the same way as those of the clan settlement are defined in relation to neighbouring clans. The difference is one of degree only, the social boundaries of a lineage within a clan being more fluid than those of a clan. The stability of a settlement rests on the equilibrium of its sections with one another, and this depends upon their being precisely differentiated from one another.

The Sections of Tongo

Tongo proper (Tɔŋ-Nayiri) has four *yizugɔt*—Puhug, Guŋ, Seug, and Kuorəg. Two roads, laid down some years ago by the Administration, which intersect almost at right angles where the Resthouse stands (see map at end of book), by chance afford a convenient set of co-ordinates for describing its layout. Puhug occupies most of the south-western quadrant and a corner of the south-eastern quadrant, most of which is Kuorəg. Seug is an irregular block in the north-eastern quadrant. Guŋ is divided: part of it, Guŋ proper, lies across the watercourse to the west of Puhug; but the majority of its members live in the north-western quadrant, in a broad wedge between Zubiuŋ and Gbizug known as Dekpieŋ. A few Guŋ homesteads also lie on the border between Seug and Zoo. Nevertheless, scattered as it is, Guŋ constitutes a single *yizug* in all corporate affairs except those connected with modern administrative demands. In the latter the local criterion prevails, Dekpieŋ having its own headman and the Guŋ homesteads at Seug coming under the supervision of the Seug headman. Members of all four sections live at Zoo and at Gbambee, but they always act with their respective sections in matters of common concern.

The names of these sections are typical of section and settlement names all over the country. Puhug gets its name from an ancient *puhug* or *puzəga* (*Tamarindus Indica*) tree, which is said to have stood at the edge of the sacred dancing-ground in the centre of the section from time immemorial. It died long ago, but old men still remember seeing its stump. Guŋ is called after the silk-cotton tree (*Ceiba Pentendra*; Talni, *guŋ*) so common in the country. Trees of all kinds, and especially those as tall as the

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

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silk-cotton, are prominent landmarks in a country of monotonous plains; hence settlements and sections often bear the names of species of trees found there.

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Kuorəg was thus named, according to popular etymology, because the Soog Yikpemdaana, who holds the ritual jurisdiction over the land on which the homesteads of Kuorəg stand, ritually allocated or 'cut' (*kuo*) the sites for all these homesteads when Tongo men first settled there. In the same way popular etymology explains the name Dekpieŋ ('it is hard') as derived from the hardness (*kpeoŋ*) of the soil in that part of the settlement as compared with that of Puhug or Seug. Seug literally means 'the rainy season', but no one in Tongo was ever able to suggest how this section acquired its name; and this is characteristic of very many settlement and section names in Taleland.

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To the people of Tongo their present residential constellation is the visible deposit, as it were, of the continuous expansion of the sub-clan through many generations within the limits of its geographical environment and social boundaries. They read the spatial disposition of the four sections as a record of their structural evolution, as a map of the contemporary constitution, and as proof of the chronological retrospect of the sub-clan. Mosuor came to settle at Puhug, where his grave still marks the site of his homestead. As his posterity increased in numbers, they began to move outwards in the same way as young men migrate to Zoo, Gbambee, and farther, nowadays, and for the same reason, shortage of farm-land. Thus Guŋ, Kuorəg, and Seug were occupied. Later, the descendants of those who founded Guŋ became too numerous for the land available there, and, prevented from expanding into Wakii by the social barriers between Tongo and that clan, filtered gradually into the area that is now Dekpieŋ. Arguing from what may be observed nowadays, they say that this was largely a process of occupying hitherto vacant land at a time when the population was very small. But it was partly, also, a process of dispossessing and pushing out to their present location the people of Zubiuŋ and of Gbizug, who claim to have lived at Puhug originally. In proof of this they cite their myths of origin, the fact that the dancing-ground in Puhug is sacred because it is the site of Tendaan Gənət's homestead, and the ritual jurisdiction exercised over part of the land of Puhug by Gbizug and over the remainder by Zubiuŋ. Indeed, there are Zubiuŋ graves on land now occupied by Dekpieŋ men which are said to date back only three to five generations. This proves that the people of Zubiuŋ were still yielding ground to the Təndem, as they themselves admit, when elders alive to-day were 'already born'.

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There is nothing derogatory in such a retreat. On the contrary, Gbizug and Zubiuŋ elders boast of it as additional evidence of the dependence of the people of Tongo on their ritual benevolence and bounty. It is a cardinal rule of Tale ethics that a request for land to build on and farm—especially if it comes from a kinsman, friend, or neighbour—may not be refused if it can be granted without hardship. There was formerly, and there still is to a small extent, land to spare at Gbizug and at Zubiuŋ. Tongo people have innumerable ties of kinship and neighbourhood with Gbizug and Zubiuŋ, which are the more effective on account of the ties

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

of politico-ritual unity and solidarity existing between the three clans. To give up land to them is, therefore, an act of virtue that creates yet closer mutual bonds.

The four sections of Tongo are not marked off from one another by territorial boundaries. But each is more or less concentrated in one locality, forming a more or less exclusive local unit, looked at from within. Members of one section are not found living right in the middle of another section. In theory they are at liberty to do so. In practice they would find it impossible, owing partly to the absence of unowned land at Tongo, but mainly to the pull of lineage loyalties. For the territorial segmentation of Tongo is a function of its precise and definitive lineage segmentation; a section is the local framework of a lineage segment. By the lineage criterion the sections are relatively autonomous units within the limits set by their common descent, but they are held together in a remarkably stable social equilibrium by their common interests. This has a counterpart in their territorial relations, which show them to have reached a stable ecological equilibrium *inter se*. The area occupied by each section is now finally fixed in location and more or less fixed in extent. Where any of them has expanded in the last three or four generations it has been chiefly at the expense of Zubiuŋ and Gbizug, not of another Tongo section. Thus, as in the case of composite clans, a social boundary exists between one section of Tongo and another. There is more intimate and regular daily intercourse, more mutual aid, closer and more binding moral, jural, and ceremonial bonds, between the members of a section, both children and adults, and between their wives, than between them and members, or wives of members, of another section. There are latent hostilities and hence a greater probability of dissension between sections than within sections. Thus they have a competitive orientation towards one another where some common interests, like the chiefship, are concerned.

Territorial Distribution and the Tɛŋ in its Mystical Aspect

As with many other Tale settlements, there is no relation between the territorial distribution of the people of Tongo and the distribution of ritual jurisdiction over the land on which they live. This was the point emphasized by the Yinduurna'ab in the case previously quoted. Tongo stretches over the ritual domains of several tendaanas. Guŋ proper lies on the outskirts of the Gbeog tendaana's *tɛŋ*; most of Puhug is on the Gbizug tendaana's ritual territory; Kuorəg is on land under the ritual jurisdiction of the Soog Yikpɛmdaan; Seug partly on Zoo *tɛŋ* and partly on Zubiuŋ *tɛŋ*, Dekpieŋ mostly on Zubiuŋ *tɛŋ*.

The bearing of this on the internal structure of Tongo is only indirect. The section or part of a section dwelling on a particular tendaana's *tɛŋ* and thus coming within the scope of his ritual powers has closer ties of neighbourliness and of affinal and cognatic kinship with that tendaana's clan than other sections have. Differences in the local taboos of the Earth (*tɛŋɔn kiha*) observed by the people of Tongo symbolize these ties. For example, a red pot must be left on a new grave at Kuorəg, because this is a taboo of Soog *tɛŋ*. Elsewhere in Tongo this is not done. Soog elders and youths always take part in the festive phases of a Kuorəg funeral, in a

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

621 representative capacity; they attend funerals elsewhere in Tongo only in
x618 a personal capacity as kin or affines of the bereaved family. Similarly, when the Gbizug tendaana invited the men of Tongo to a collective hoeing—an invitation to which his politico-ritual relations with Tongo gave the weight of a command—it was to Puhug mainly that he directed the invitation, and the elders of Puhug saw to it that their sons turned out in full force. For, as they explained: 'We stand in awe of the Gbizug tendaana, he sacrifices (to the Earth) on our behalf.' From Dekpien, the
[208] neighbours of Gbizug, came only three young men, and the other sections merely sent messengers to convey their good wishes for a fruitful day's work. Such ties, however, are only effective as long as amicable relationships prevail between Tongo as a whole and the particular tendaana's clan.

This brings us back to our starting-point: the social boundaries of Tongo. It is evident that they are largely a function of the social and political relations which each section has with its immediate neighbours, and which differ slightly from section to section.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

CHAPTER XI

LAND, LOCALITY, AND THE EARTH

Definition of the Bonds between People and the Land

As we have already seen, there is in Tale social organization an intrinsic connexion between every defined social group or part of a social group and a specific locality. Now there are, as yet, no communities in Taleland consisting of aggregations of individuals or families of completely heterogeneous cultural or genealogical origin, whose sole common interest in the locality they occupy is utilitarian, and whose sole bond with one another is their common subjection to a single political authority. As we shall see, even in the new peripheral settlements, which are now, under the pressure of land shortage, being permanently occupied by mixed populations, the decisive bonds of association are ties of consanguineous and affinal kinship. It could hardly be otherwise in a society so homogeneous and also lacking centralized government.

The connexion between community and locality has the three aspects found in all Tale social institutions. It is utilitarian—for men build their homes on the land and get their livelihood from it; it is also morphological, particular units of the social structure being tied to defined localities so that the social unit and its locality form a single entity; and it has a moral and ritual coefficient. Men have moral and ritual relations with one another and with the land in virtue of their occupancy or utilization of particular portions of its surface. We have touched on this in our preliminary remarks on the Tale concept of *tcy*. We return, here, to the further elucidation of this concept.

The bonds between a community and a locality, or between an individual or a lineage and land, are summed up in the idea of 'ownership' (*solom*). This concept, which occurs in various contexts, has certain general implications. Where it is a matter of property such as land, or where persons or localities associated with social groups are concerned, to 'own' (*so*) them means to have responsibilities towards and for them, rights over and on behalf of them, privileges and duties in relation to other individuals or corporate groups in virtue of being the 'master' (*daana* or *-raana*) of the land, locality, or person in question. In every case, there is no such thing as purely utilitarian ownership. Utilitarian ownership exists within a framework of the relations of a defined social group to the land, the person, the locality; and this framework, in turn, is held together by a scheme of moral and ritual values and sanctions.

Thus, in the case of land, exercising or acquiring 'ownership' for productive purposes is regulated by clanship and kinship ties and limited by the moral and ritual values of the ancestor cult and the Earth cult. In some circumstances clanship or kinship may be the more important determinant, in others ritual considerations may be the vital factor. The three aspects of 'ownership' may be vested in the same individual or group, or in different individuals or groups. But they are always there.

[p.171]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

621 421 The natives cannot imagine any tract of land or territory being totally unconnected with a human group. Most tracts of uninhabited bush are 'owned' by chiefs, who have ritual jurisdiction over hunting rights. But some tracts of untilled and uninhabited land (e.g. between Biuŋ and the river) appear to have no 'owners', either secular or ritual. The natives say the 'owners' have died out. The land did at one time have a connexion, perhaps only a ritual connexion, with a human group, and this connexion remains mystically effective still. Such areas of *wasak*, as the natives call them, are economically a free good. Anyone can come and build or cultivate there. But a man who does so will try to find some person or some clan to offer sacrifice to the Earth on his behalf, as the residuary legatee of the defunct 'owners', through local or clanship ties with them. If he fails to find anyone, he will consult a diviner to find out for himself where the sacred spots are in this stretch of *wasak* and make the sacrifices himself, thus creating a moral bond with it. Nowhere is the Earth inert; and its mystical powers are a reflex of its relations with human groups.

The three functionally differentiated aspects of man's relations to territory in Taleland are interconnected in Tale thought and custom in a rather complex way, and local differences blur the general principles. The simplest approach will be from the starting-point of land used for agricultural purposes. This is by far the most important economic use of land, but not the only one. There are few products of nature on the earth's surface that the natives do not make some economic use of, or rely on for other practical purposes. It is easy to see, therefore, why the natural environment is built into the social organization and invested with values and meaning in the social philosophy and ritual beliefs of the Tallensi. Our analysis would lead to the same conclusions if we started from uncultivated bush (*moog*), for instance, the source of essential products such as firewood, wild fruits, shea nuts, thatching grass, reeds for matmaking, rafters, medicine roots, and so forth, as well as of game and wild fowl.

Farm-land and Subsistence

311 Land means many things to the Tale farmer. He distinguishes, firstly, between the soil (*tam*) and the arable, or tilled land (*kuob*). He recognizes and takes into account different kinds and qualities of soil. This is something independent of the tillage of the land; and, conversely, cultivation (*kuo*, from *kɔ*, to hoe) turns any kind of soil (*tam*) into arable (*kuob*). Tilled land, again, is classified, without reference to soil qualities, by its location and by the kind of crops grown on it. Thus, every farmer has one or more home farms (*saman*) in the settlement and one or more bush farms (*poog*) in an area free of human habitations. In addition, a particular farm is merely a parcel of land, a bit carved out of a *teŋ*. In this context a *teŋ* is a stretch of territory in its useful, material aspect. One can speak of such and such a *teŋ* as being very fertile, or as having a sandy soil (*tambiihug*).

241 731 Farming is the basis of the Talaŋ's livelihood. A failure of crops, nowadays, spells widespread privation. Thirty years ago it would have brought famine. Tallensi often talk of this, especially when unpropitious

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

social structure. The economic utilization of land is regulated by the process of segmentation in the lineage and by the system of co-operation in the household. It turns upon the acceptance, by the members of the household, of the norms governing their relationships and the enforcement of these norms, in accordance with the principle of reciprocity, by direct action. Behind these norms stands the ancestor cult, the supreme sanction of solidarity in the pursuit of common interests by the lineage. Granted favourable external conditions, the efficiency of production, among the Tallensi, with the technical means at their disposal, depends on the organization of the household and lineage.

Broadly speaking, then, every unit of farm-land corresponds to a unit of social structure. More specifically, the elementary utilitarian unit of territory corresponds to the elementary unit of the social structure, and the relationship between them, summed up in the concept of ownership, is a permanent one. The history of a nuclear lineage is *eo ipso* the history of its farm-land. Every change in the structure of the lineage implies a corresponding change in the distribution of the usufructuary rights in its farm-land. While the lineage exists it never forfeits ownership of its farm-land, whether its members cultivate it or not. The strength of the tie felt to hold between a lineage and its ancestral farm-land (*banam kuo*) is shown in the rule that purchased land is redeemable at any time by repayment of the purchase price (or more probably, as we have suggested, of the original loan) by the vendor lineage.[1]

The keystone of the institutional framework of Tale agriculture is security of land tenure. But what, we may ask, guarantees to the lineage security of ownership of its farm-land, in the absence of judicial institutions and instruments? The answer is contained in the Tale concept of the *tey* as a community. The landowning unit is a segment of a maximal lineage and its property rights are an aspect of its corporate relationship to the maximal lineage and clan. Within a settlement the stretch of land parcelled out into farm plots corresponds to the clan occupying that locality as it segmented into a hierarchy of lineage units. All segments of the clan of the same order are equal to one another. They have an equal weight in the structure of the clan, equal power in its affairs. They have, in consequence, equal property rights (though not necessarily equal amounts of property), equal opportunity for holding and farming land (though not necessarily equal achievement), and equal social duties to one another. Hence each segment respects the land rights of all other segments, just as it respects their rights in relation to their wives and children. This is an aspect of the solidarity of the clan, one of the indices of the common interest of all members of the clan in one another's welfare. It is a feature of the equilibrium of interlineage and intra-clan relationships. The relative structural autonomy of the nuclear lineage, which is a basic factor in the equilibrium of the maximal lineage and clan, presupposes corresponding economic autonomy. Just as members of the same

[1] In practice, the rule does not hold beyond three generations, by which time all witnesses to the transaction, and their sons (whom they would have told of it) are dead, but attempts are often made to assert the right of redemption after three generations.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

clan must not kill one another or abduct one another's wives, so they must not trespass on one another's land. For this would wreck the mutual loyalties of segment to segment and make impossible the maintenance of the reciprocity of rights and duties on which their corporate life depends. There is, in other words, a generally accepted body of jural and moral norms, binding on all members of the clan and cementing its solidarity, and supported by the powerful sanctions of the ancestor cult and the Earth cult. The security of land tenure is guaranteed by this.

Tallensi say that it is unthinkable for any man to take another's farmland. It is his ancestral land. You would not borrow a patch for a groundnut plot without his permission: how could you think of seizing any of it for yourself? The idea is either fantastic or simply ludicrous to them. And in fact, disputes over farm boundaries or trespassing on another's land are almost unknown. The most remarkable proof of this occurred in 1936, when the Hill Talis returned to their ancestral homes after twenty-five years of exile. Several hundred men took possession again of their ancestors' farm plots without a single boundary dispute. If there was doubt about a particular plot the elders were consulted and settled the matter, not by the exercise of authority but by reason of their knowledge of where every member of the clan had farmed in the old days. Boys of thirteen or fourteen know in detail the ownership and boundaries of every farm plot in the settlement, or at any rate in their section, if it is a large settlement.

It should be noted that there is no communal production for communal use of foodstuffs or any other commodities among the Tallensi, and there is, accordingly, no concept of the communal ownership of the farm-lands of the community. A nuclear lineage has indefeasible rights of ownership over its land. No one has an over-right over it, either real or fictitious. This rule applies between clans as well as within the clan. Trespassing on the farm-lands of members of clans other than one's own is unheard of. For, as we have learnt, adjacent clans are interconnected by structural ties. Every clan is a member of a wider community of interdependent clans, emerging at the level of politico-ritual relations and including, at its widest extent, all the Tallensi. This is the *tey* at its widest extent, symbolically recognized in the Great Festivals and in the chain of interdependent politico-ritual offices held by the heads of all the different maximal lineages and clans. It is the counterpart, in the social structure, of the notion of the Earth in its mystical aspect as a universal power acting on the lives of all men.

Security of land ownership, which means security for every man of the opportunity to supply the basic needs of himself and his dependants, is, therefore, conditional upon the integration of the community; in the first place, of the clan, but also of the wider community of interdependent groups of clans. Its ultimate basis is the politico-ritual organization of the Tallensi.

The Integration of the Community: Chiefship and Tendaanaship

The politico-ritual integration of a Tale clan is focused in the politico-ritual office or offices vested in it or in its component maximal lineages.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

Like the tɛndaanas all the *tɔŋgbana* of Taleland, and even beyond Taleland, are described as 'kin' (*mabiis*) to one another. In principle, *tɛŋ*, the Earth, cannot be divided up; it is the tɛndaanaship which is distributed.

This explains the diversity and lack of precision one finds in the boundaries of tɛndaanas' *tɛs*. Like settlement boundaries they are determined by social rather than physical facts, though here and there conspicuous topographical features may be fixed upon as landmarks from which to take a bearing. Doo *tɛŋ*, the area immediately surrounding and including the supreme *tɔŋgban* Doo of Tɛnzugu, is an example of a tɛndaana's *tɛŋ* that can easily be distinguished. Homesteads on Doo *tɛŋ* may not have roofs of thatch (*mopin*) but must have flat roofs (*bɛa*, vb.) of mud. This is a quasi-totemic taboo of this *tɛŋ* (cf. p. 142). Standing on the wall of granite boulders that overlooks this part of Tɛnzugu one can see where the mud roofs end and the thatched roofs begin. I was very reluctantly told about, and later shown, what purported to be the fixed physical boundaries of Doo *tɛŋ* by men of Kpata'ar, the clan which has ritual jurisdiction over it. A ditch, a line of large boulders, a prominent tree, a path, such were the landmarks by which they went. But the striking thing about this boundary was that, almost all the way, it followed the social boundaries between Kpata'ar and Gundaat on the one side, and between Bunkiuk and Samiit on the other. In the closely settled parts of the country, wherever *tɛndaanditib* clans are in occupation of the areas under their ritual jurisdiction, there is a noticeable tendency for the alleged physical boundaries of *tɛs* to coincide with social boundaries between clans or maximal lineages.

Settlements like Tongo, where people believed to be of immigrant descent occupy land under the ritual jurisdiction of other clans, are instructive. Tongo, like many other Tale settlements, stretches over the ritual territories of several tɛndaanas (cf. p. 169). The alleged boundaries between the *tɛs* of the Gbizug, Soog, and Zubiuŋ tɛndaanas run through Tongo. As the people of Tongo put it, these clans at various times allotted portions of their own land for Tongo people to build and farm on. Physical landmarks are pointed out as indicating these boundaries. But if they are examined it will be seen that they tend to coincide with the social boundaries between sections (*yizugɔt*) or between segments of sections (*dugɔt*). (See map at end of book.) Wherever part of a tɛndaana's boundary runs between homesteads of men of the same segment (*dug*), the homesteads (rarely more than one or two) on the wrong side of the boundary have not been sited there for more than a generation. The continual slow shifting about of homestead sites in a settlement through the course of generations is paralleled by a shifting of the boundaries between farm plots; for they pass through alternate phases of being divided up, wholly or in part, among the segments of a nuclear lineage that has reached a phase of fission, and of being reconstituted, wholly or in part, at a later stage of lineage integration. These internal adjustments often result in a spilling over of one section of a clan into what was till then regarded as the area of a neighbouring unit of like sort.

We lack historical documents; but we can infer from the contemporary dynamics of Tale social life that the boundaries of tɛndaanas' *tɛs* shift

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

gradually with the passage of generations in adjustment to changing social boundaries.

It is significant how frequently in settlements like Tongo tɛndaanas' boundaries are adjusted to cognatic ties between a particular tɛndaana's clan and a segment of the immigrant clan. In Tongo all Dekpiɛŋ, barring two or three homesteads, is on Zubiuŋ land; there is not one segment of Dekpiɛŋ that has no cognatic or affinal ties with Zubiuŋ. The few men who live on Gbizug land are all matrilateral kin of Gbizug. All Kuorəg is on Soog land; and the Kuorəg tradition is that one of their ancestors was a Soog *ahəŋ* (sister's son) who was granted land to settle on by his *àhəb* (maternal uncle), the Soog tɛndaana. Similarly, Lɛbhtiis yidɛm of Puhug call themselves the classificatory sister's sons of Gbizug, and most of them live on Gbizug land. This is a further indication that the ill-defined boundaries of tɛndaanas' *tɛs* are shaped by social relationships.

Not all Namoos live on land under the ritual jurisdiction of other clans. The Chief of Biuŋ, though a Namoo, is also the tɛndaana of Biuŋ. The people of Dkoog live on land under their own tɛndaana, a member of their own clan. They have both a chief and a tɛndaana.[1] In these cases the natives maintain that the original settlers of their clan found no one living there. Being Namoos they brought the chiefship with them, or, as at Biuŋ, held the chiefly rights over the bush out of which Biuŋ has been carved. But the Earth cannot go unworshipped where men dwell; so they undertook the tɛndaanaship themselves.

A tɛndaana's *tɛŋ* is the area in which he exercises priestly duties and responsibilities and the rights and privileges that correspond to them. It is primarily on behalf of the people dwelling or farming there that he constantly consults diviners to find out what sacrifices he must offer in order that the Earth may bless the strivings of men. Lost and unclaimed property or objects found anywhere on his *tɛŋ* must be delivered to him, to be used by him or sacrificed to the Earth. If anybody wishes to build a house on a virgin site, even on farm-land belonging to his own lineage, the blessing of the Earth is essential if the house is to prosper. Therefore the tɛndaana of that *tɛŋ* must come and 'clear the house-site (*kuo yir*)' ritually for the family, receiving, in return, only certain prescribed portions of the meat of the animals sacrificed. If a new grave has to be dug, the tɛndaana, or someone deputizing for him, has to mark it out ritually (*kyieb*) and supervise the digging. This is not only because the dead are laid to rest inside the earth, but also because interring the dead is an act of crucial social and personal importance, charged with ritual meanings of great intensity. It is one of the points at which man's life and the mystical powers of the Earth come into contact in a way that is fraught with the deepest affective and social meaning for the individual and wide consequences for the organization of the society. Thereafter,

[1] But, characteristically, the tɛndaanaship is vested in one segment only of the clan, and that segment is prohibited from holding the chiefship. Moreover, their right to the tɛndaanaship and their exclusion from the chiefship are both validated by their lineage status. They form an attached lineage claiming matrilateral descent from a lineage of Wakii that has the tɛndaanaship. The chiefship is confined to the authentic lineages of Dkoog. Thus the polar relation of chiefship and tɛndaanaship asserts itself within the clan.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

Lineage Grouping and Local Grouping

613 621 596 We come now to the question of the connexion between lineage grouping and locality. A lineage like Nəpugzabər yiri, though its span is comparatively small, exhibits all the important principles of lineage structure and will suffice as a crucial example.

In all the old-established settlements we find a very close correlation between lineage proximity and residential proximity among the members of the clan who live there. Close agnates tend to live near one another, so that residential proximity is almost a measure of lineage proximity. A segment of small span tends to be a close residential cluster, and segments of larger span, up to the major segments of a maximal lineage, tend to form residential blocks.

We can see this most readily if we look again at the residential dispersion of a group of agnatically related joint families, bearing in mind that the men of a joint family form a lineage. For as the homestead is the material integument of the living structure of the joint family, so is the localization of the lineage, growing out of the spatial arrangement of the homestead, the spatial counterpart of the lineage structure.

592 602 596 As will be remembered (see p. 199), the elementary case is that of two full (*soog*) brothers, who often continue to occupy a single homestead long after they have set up separate families. Each will have more or less self-contained quarters, but the homestead will have only one gateway (*zanɔr*), one cattle-yard (*sapak*), and one room for the family head (*zɔŋ*), signifying that it is a single homestead. Half-brothers (*sunzɔp*) may share a homestead in this way, but they usually separate more distinctly when they have growing families. Each will have his own gateway, &c., and party walls divide his section of the homestead completely from those of his brothers, making it what may be called a semi-detached homestead. Such a set of semi-detached homesteads may house a man and his mature first-born son, or a man and his deceased brother's sons. Sometimes two or more ortho-cousins (brothers, in native terminology) live thus side by side.

613 621 More usually, however, men whose nearest common ancestor is a grandfather occupy completely separate dwellings, often very near to one another. Men whose nearest common ancestor is a great-grandfather never have permanent homes adjoining one another in this semi-detached way. These conditions of residence signalize successive stages of segmentation as the effective minimal lineage expands and splits into new effective minimal lineages. But what residential arrangements will prevail in a particular lineage segment depends, also, upon other circumstances, the most important of which are the economic and religious relations, and the character and disposition of the individuals concerned. Residential collocation is not a simple function of lineage relationship. There is a *tertium quid* linking them: the combined effect of land tenure, on which the whole economy of the household rests, and of the ancestor cult. For example, when a joint family splits, the man who leaves the ancestral home usually builds a homestead for himself on land belonging to the

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

nuclear lineage; but this land may be some distance from the ancestral home, owing to the scattering of holdings.

Looking at it from the native point of view, we should say, not that individuals tend to live near one another because they are agnatic kin, but that all lineages down to the effective minimal lineage tend to be tied to localities; and the more closely lineages are related, the greater is the spatial propinquity of their dwelling areas. The distribution of households is not rigidly parallel to the lineage structure at a given time. Mere spatial proximity cannot be directly translated into terms of lineage proximity. There is a diachronic element as well. Kurug's homestead (No. 6), for example, is nearer to Pumaan's (No. 5) in yards and feet than to Lɛbhtiis's; but Kurug is closer to Lɛbhtiis than to Pumaan in lineage. This is due chiefly to changes in the internal structure of their respective nuclear lineages in the last twenty or thirty years. The spatial relations of homesteads to one another reflect lineage relations in their diachronic aspect.

The Concept of the Lineage Home

Lineages tend to be tied to specific localities even if many of their members are permanently or temporarily away from the lineage home. Some representatives of the lineage will generally continue to reside near the ancient home where the spirits of the ancestors still dwell. The *daboog*, the site of the original home of the lineage, the first dwelling-place of its founding ancestor, is a hallowed spot. It is identified by reference to ancestral land and to the graves of the ancestors. These are the fixed things. Homesteads are not eternal. Their collocation reflects the structure of the lineage at a given time; but it changes as the composition and segmentation of the lineage alters. Whenever an alteration of this sort occurs, there is a corresponding reshuffle in the housing arrangements. New homesteads are erected, old homesteads replanned and rebuilt or abandoned. A lineage being an organic unit has, in native eyes, but one home (*yir*), though the material embodiment of this home is distributed at any given time. The *daboog* of the lineage of Nɔpugzabɔr yidem, the original homestead site of their ancestor Nɔpugzabɔr, is on what was in 1934 the home farm of the head of the lineage, Deemzeet, a stone's throw from his gateway. The graves of Nɔpugzabɔr and his sons, and a tree which sprouted on Nɔpugzabɔr's grave and is believed, therefore, to enshrine his spirit, mark the spot where his gateway (*zanɔr*) stood.

From this arises the concept of the lineage *zanɔr*. All the homesteads of its members together make up the lineage home (*yir*), and this home has its single gateway (*zanɔr*), the lineage *zanɔr*. The notion is pre-eminently symbolical, but its material embodiment is the homestead of the lineage head, and therefore, specifically, the gateway of his homestead. It applies to all levels of lineage organization, up to the maximal lineage. In a maximal lineage the site of the founding ancestor's homestead is generally a sacred spot, often marked by the erection on or near it of a miniature room to represent the ancestral *zɔŋ*. This room is one of the shrines connected with the lineage *bɔyar*, and its custody is vested in a

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

segment of the lineage whose head always takes the title of *Yikpɛmdaan*[1] and has the duty of sacrificing to the collective ancestors of the lineage on behalf of all its members. Among clans that have tendaanas the senior tendaana often has to build his homestead on the site of the founding ancestor's homestead; and when a tendaana dies his successor takes possession of the ancestral homestead and his children move out. But many other arrangements exist all serving the same end of keeping alive the idea of the lineage home.

In the lineage we are discussing the three homesteads of the members stand on ancestral land quite close to the graves of the lineage ancestors, Doohraan, Damtii, and Nɔpugzabɔr. When Deemzeet formally became the head of the lineage his homestead housed the lineage *bɔyar* and other shrines of its common ancestors, and his gateway became the lineage *zanɔr*. The ancestral graves of this lineage are actually on land owned by its members. This is not always the case. Changes in the ownership of land as the population shifts frequently result in the land surrounding the ancestral graves of a lineage-segment passing into the hands of members of another segment of the same lineage, sometimes even into the hands of members of a neighbouring clan. The spot continues, nevertheless, to be regarded as the *daboog* of the lineage whose ancestral graves lie there. The conception of the lineage home is split. For jural and social purposes it is the *de facto* home of the lineage, the place where its head actually resides. The site of the ancestral home, marked by the graves of the ancestors, comes to be regarded primarily as the religious focus of the lineage.

The Influence of Lineage Localization in the Social Life

This fact, that in the older settlements the core of a lineage is a locally organized unit, and that its location is associated with its ancestor spirits on the one hand and its patrimonial land on the other, moulds the entire life of its members. The corporate unity and identity of a lineage is a real and tangible thing when its male members can see one another every day, and when most of them, certainly most of their leading men, can gather together easily and in a very short time to consider and take action in affairs of common interest. Classificatory kinship is no mere formality where an individual's childhood companions are his or her own siblings and ortho-cousins of various degrees; where a man's daily intercourse is carried on chiefly with close agnatic kinsmen, and almost entirely with men of the same patrilineal descent, in his section or settlement; where a man can readily, and indeed is compelled to, by the fact of physical accessibility in a culture lacking rapid and indirect means of communication, have immediate and almost exclusive recourse to his patrilineal kin for help in economic activities, support in maintaining his rights or performing his duties, advice and guidance in the conduct of his life, or solace in misfortune. Ceremonial co-operation is not an empty formula

[1] Tallensi are poor etymologists and various equally plausible etymologies are suggested for this title. The most probable is that it is compounded of *yir*, house; *kpiim*, spirits of the dead, and *daana*, custodian or master. This can be translated 'Custodian of the House of the Spirits of the Lineage Ancestors'.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

where it always and necessarily brings together men of the same descent group, bound together not only by ties of blood but also by ties of residence, common interests, and common experience. The local concentration of the lineage in such close association with the graves of its ancestors and the land hallowed by their life and labour gives to the cult of the ancestors a binding power and directive force in the social life of the natives which is hardly equalled elsewhere in Africa. The like-mindedness, common values, mutual loyalties, sense of unity and continuity, so prominent in a lineage of small span and distinctive only to a lesser degree of lineages of greater span, can be translated directly into terms of contact, co-operation, and experience. So also the conflicts and rivalries that inevitably spring up in a human community, and occur as often in a Tale settlement as anywhere else in the world, have an additional significance, since they necessarily involve men who are kin to one another and belong to the same corporate unit. The principle of lineage representation and the concept of the equivalence of members of the same lineage have the maximum efficacy in these conditions.

The effect of the congruence between lineage ties and local ties is of no less importance for a woman than for a man. In childhood her closest playmates are the children of her father's inner lineage, that is, the children of her father's nearest neighbours, and their principal playground is the immediate vicinity of their parents' homesteads. Among her classificatory patrilineal relatives she knows best and depends most on the members of her father's inner lineage. Members of her father's medial lineage are next in order of importance for her, and more distant clansmen and clanswomen least important, though far from irrelevant. When she marries into another community she does not cease to belong to her natal clan. She maintains close ties with it, the most intimate being with the members of her father's inner lineage; and she thinks of these ties as ties with a corporate social unit, not with particular individuals only. Both to herself, her husband and his clansmen, and to her children, her 'father's house' (*ba yir*) is, in the broadest sense, her natal clan pictured as a local community, in a narrower sense, her father's medial lineage, thought of as a localized subdivision of her natal clan, in the narrowest sense her father's inner lineage thought of in the same way.

In her husband's home, too, the correlation of lineage proximity with local proximity enters continuously into the routine of her life. Her relations with the members of her husband's clan are graded in accordance with their lineage proximity to him. The men of her husband's clan with whom she has closest contact are her husband's nearest agnates and the nearest neighbours of her conjugal family. With him they form the segment of his clan which has the greatest jural interest in her and her children. If her husband dies, it is one of these men who is most likely to inherit her. The wives of all her husband's clansmen are nominally her co-wives or daughters-in-law; but in fact it is only the wives of his close agnates, women who are her nearest neighbours, whom she regards as effective classificatory co-wives and daughters-in-law. She and they will help one another in such tasks as floor beating or ceremonial cooking, and at critical times like a confinement or a death. She has bonds of

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

comradeship with all women married into her husband's clan, owing to their common status as wives of the clan, but this bond is stronger with the wives of her husband's close agnates than with the wives of his distant agnates. It is most effective within the group of families built up round her husband's inner lineage, and becomes purely nominal outside the range of the group of families whose male members form a medial lineage.

Neighbourhood ties are *ipso facto* lineage ties, and therefore economic, religious, jural, and moral ties. The closer a man's neighbourhood ties with another, the more closely are they likely to be related by lineage and the greater are likely to be their common and mutual interests. A man's central field of social relationships is integral with his central field of spatial relationships. His range of physical communication with others is a function of his range of social relations, and is graded, both as to intensity and frequency of communication, in accordance with the gradation of his genealogical relationships. For, as we have previously noted, most men's lives are almost wholly tied to their natal settlements.

This close correlation between genealogical relationships and local relationships operates in the wide sphere of clanship as well as in the narrow sphere of individual conduct, in the corporate relationships of lineages and clans, no less than in the emotional bonds of individuals. We have seen how it emerges in the organization of the lineage, and its enormous importance in a person's relations with his patrilateral kin. It is equally significant in the establishment of affinal ties and in the efficacy of the ties of matrilateral kinship.

In this respect the Tallensi exhibit a feature of primitive society that has often been stressed: their overwhelming dependence on face-to-face communication and association in the organization of their collective life. Among the Tallensi it can be clearly seen that this is conditioned by their mode of economic life, their lack of the art of writing, and the absence of mechanical equipment and sources of power for transport, communications, and other technological purposes. But the student of Tale society cannot avoid the conclusion that social factors, in particular the complex of interrelated elements revealed in the narrow range of political and economic relations, the lack of a centralized political system and the dominance of genealogical connexions in all social relations, are the most important factors in the situation.

The Section

We can return now to our account of the lineage framework of Tongo.

Adjacent to Lɛbhtiis yidɛm, between them and Gbizug, lies the cluster of homesteads of the assimilated lineage of Ligɔr yidɛm (see above, p. 57), homesteads Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, on our map. Lɛbhtiis yidɛm are the authentic lineage with which Ligɔr yidɛm are most closely linked, but they count as segments of equal order in the larger unit of the section (*yizug*). Another cluster of homesteads (Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16) belong to Kuŋkɔŋto'o yidɛm, the attached lineage reputed to be derived from a divorced sister's son (*tau bii*) of Lɛbhtiis yidɛm. Both these accessory lineages have a number of male members living away from Tongo.

The structure of Puhug (see diagram, p. 212), the section (*yizug*) of which

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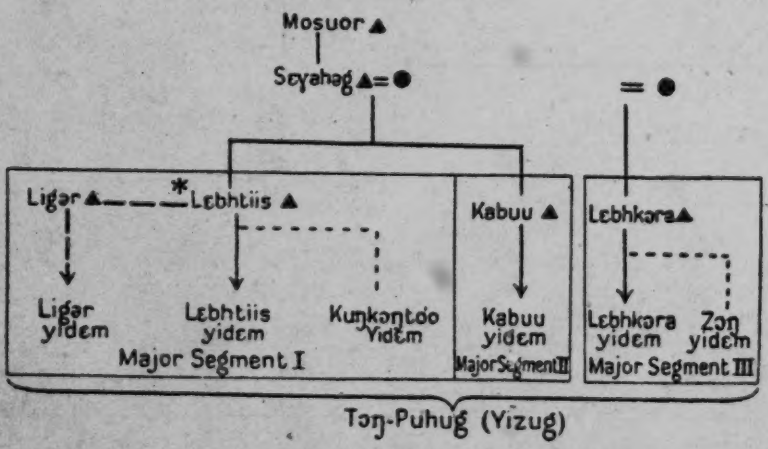
FE11 Tallensi FE11

it forms a segment, is the structure of Lɛbhtiis yidɛm writ large. Discounting the accessory lineages, Puhug comprises three major segments. It has two more lineages of the same order of segmentation as Lɛbhtiis yidɛm: Kabuu yidɛm and Lɛbhkɔra yidɛm. One segment of the former occupies the south-west or topmost (*zugmi*) corner of Puhug (homesteads Nos. 25, 26, 27), abutting on the mass of great boulders that lies between Puhug and the watercourse that separates it from Wakii. The other segment occupies the group of homesteads at Kumpɛyalɔyat. A minor branch, including the head of this segment, migrated to Yamalɔg some twenty years ago, and other members of it are settled at Gbambee, Woo, and in the outlying parts of Taleland, while some are abroad. Lɛbhkɔra yidɛm, together with their attached lineage, Zɔŋ yidɛm, live in the group of homesteads—Nos. 30, 31, 32, 34—adjacent to Kuorɔg. These three major segments of Puhug (reckoned as *dugɔt*, medial lineages, in this context) are agnatically related as follows:



——— *Authentic segments*
— — *Assimilated Lineages*
------ *Attached Lineages*

Lɛbhtiis yidɛm and Kabuu yidɛm are *soog* (full brother) segments, it will be noted, and though they are not considered to form a single *dug* within Puhug, they have somewhat closer ties than either has with their *sunzɔ* segment of Lɛbhkɔra biis, while Ligɔr yidɛm have closer ties with Lɛbhtiis yidɛm than with the others, on account of their special connexion with the former. In the economic, ritual, and jural concerns of the section all the segments have the same status and the same degree of relative autonomy. But Lɛbhtiis yidɛm are recognized as the senior branch, and so rank above the others. The head (*kpeem*) of Lɛbhtiis yir is *ipso facto* the *kpeem* of Puhug.

The lineage structure of the other three *yizugɔt* of Tongo follows the same

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

plan; and the architecture of the sub-clan as a whole is that of the *yizug* on a larger scale. A skeleton genealogy (see p. 214) will suffice to show this.

Guŋ, Seug, and Kuorəg are constituted according to the same general plan as Puhug. But each section has features peculiar to itself, specializations of the general principles of *yizug* structure due to the particular genealogical constitution of each, and to the demographic and structural relations with one another of the four sections. This is characteristic of Tale social organization. Like the maximal lineages of a composite clan, co-ordinate segments of a maximal lineage are homologous with one another in structure, but frequently different in genealogical composition.

Viewed in terms of its own diachronic and local constitution, each is unique, its present form the precipitate of its own peculiar history. Thus Guŋ, as we have seen, is not a single local aggregate like Puhug. But the principle that lineage proximity and residential proximity go together prevails. Leaving aside those who have settled permanently or temporarily in outlying places, the Guŋdɛm at Guŋ proper are almost all Kəbər yidɛm. The centre of settlement of Siiyɛŋ biis is Dekpieŋ. Bəɣyiedət yidɛm are most scattered; but each of its segments tends to be a small local aggregate, and wherever in outlying places a cluster of homesteads belonging to Guŋ men is formed—at Zoo, at Gbambee, and at Woo—these men are almost invariably members of a single minor segment of the lineage.

The three segments of Guŋ (excluding Nəŋsuur yidɛm, the assimilated lineage) are considered to be more closely united than the segments of Puhug because they have a single common progenitrix. They speak of themselves as 'members of one *dug* (*dug yɛni dɛm*)' in contraposition to the other sections of Tongo. Seug is the most homogeneous section of Tongo, both residentially and genealogically, for it consists of only one segment, of the same order as the component segments of the other *yizugət*. The members of Seug, too, speak of themselves as members of one *dug* in contraposition to the other three sections. Kuorəg is the most heterogeneous, genealogically, of the four sections. Its members are also more widely dispersed, most of them having moved to Gbambee in the past thirty or forty years.

Puhug and Kuorəg both show clearly how local association is a factor of section organization in a maximal lineage in the same way as it is a factor of clanship in composite clans. Genealogically, Lɛbhkəra yidɛm of Puhug are a lineage of the same order of segmentation as Seugdɛm; yet they do not, like the latter, constitute a separate *yizug*. Close local association with Puhug makes them a part of that section. Similarly, Yikpɛmdaan yir of Kuorəg on genealogical reckoning alone should rank as a section. Its founding ancestor is said to have been a kinsman (*mabii*), possibly a 'brother' but certainly not a son, of Mosuor, who accompanied him on his flight from Mampurugu. The head of this lineage, who has the hereditary title of Yikpɛmdaan, has a position of special dignity at Tongo. He is in one sense the senior elder (*kpeem*) among all the elders of the sub-clan. Yikpɛmdaan's high status is due to his hereditary ownership of a special shrine (*bəɣar*), Zoonkpaləg, which is both his lineage *bəɣar* (*banam bəɣar*) and a clan *bəɣar*, analogous to the External *Bəɣar* of the Talis, for the whole of Tongo. It is the shrine

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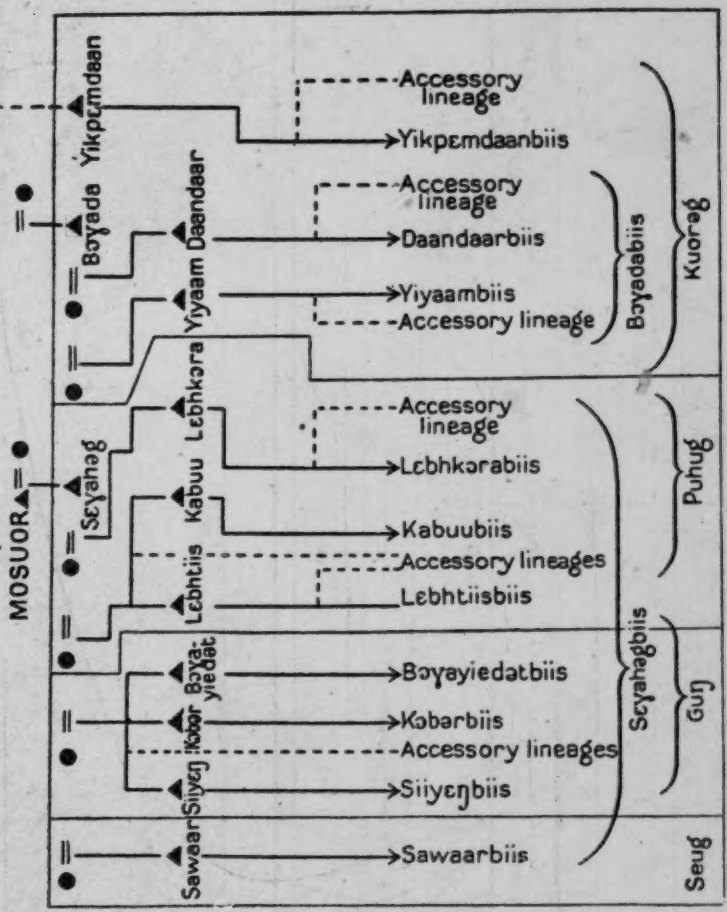

Note: Daandaar biis are often referred to as Yidaan biis, after a title held by their founding ancestor

[p.214]

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613 of all the ancestors of the whole maximal lineage, and it symbolizes
621 the 'gateway' (*zanɔr*) of the whole maximal lineage (cf. p. 208). The natives maintain that the original Yikpɛmdaan accompanied his kinsman Mosuor to Tongo as the custodian of this *bɔyar*, in virtue of which he is the *zanɔr kpeem*—the elder in charge of the lineage gateway—of the maximal lineage. Hence it is a common saying at Tongo that 'Yikpɛmdaan is not a Kuorəg man, but he belongs to the whole of this our Chief's House (*Yikpɛmdaan ka Kuorəg nit, u a ti Nayirɔ waabi nit*)'. Nevertheless, Yikpɛmdaan yidem are always reckoned as part of Kuorəg in the affairs of that section. Yikpɛmdaan himself acts as the senior elder of the section in jural and ritual affairs that concern it as a whole, superseding the *kpeem* of Bɔyada biis in virtue of his exalted status.

Segmentation and Equilibrium in the Sub-clan

By genealogical reckoning Tongo consists of two major segments: Sɛyahəg biis (Puhug, Guŋ, and Seug), and Bɔyada biis (Kuorəg), each with its accessory lineages. In some circumstances the unity of Sɛyahəg biis in contraposition to Bɔyada biis is recognized. This is the reason why Zoŋ yidem, the attached segment of Lɛbhkɔra biis of Puhug, are permitted to marry Kuorəgdem but not any members of Seyahəg biis, who are felt to be the widest lineage of which Zoŋ yidem form a segment. But there is a distinct tendency towards the obliteration of the sense of contra-
[782] position between Kuorəg and the rest of Tongo as the sentiment of unity, reflected in the conduct of accessory lineages at the great sacrifice to Mosuor in 1936, becomes stronger (see pp. 53–4). I have heard members of Zoŋ yidem say that it is not becoming (*de pu ŋara*) for them to marry into Kuorəg, even though it is no breach of the rule of exogamy to do so. In another decade or so they may well insist that it is not merely unbecoming but forbidden (*kih*), and it would then be a grave discourtesy for anyone at Tongo to remind them publicly of their indirect connexion with Mosuor biis by disputing this.

764 At funeral ceremonies this primary segmentation of Tongo often
613 emerges. Thus, when the funeral of Yɔrug Yin of Kuorəg was celebrated,
621 contingents of elders from all the other sections of Tongo, and from Zoo—coming as *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy—as well as Soog (the clan adjacent to Kuorəg and the 'owners of the land' on which Kuorəg is situated) came in force to the second divination ceremony; for Yɔrug Yin had been the head of Bɔyada biis and headman of Kuorəg. But his son was a poor man and had to temper with economy the munificence that pride dictates
[273] on such occasions. So when the beer was brought for the guests, Zoodem
[554] and Soogdem were each given a medium-sized pot, and then one large pot was given to *Nayidem*, the 'people of the Chief's House', that is, the other three sections of Tongo reckoned as a unit in contraposition to Kuorəg. Had more beer been brewed, or had the *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy and the neighbouring clan not been present, each section would have received its own pot of beer. Similarly, at the funeral of Sayawuob of Puhug's mother, representatives of Zoo came to claim the forequarter (*bɔak*) of the cow slaughtered in her honour, which they were entitled to as *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy. This left only two *nundaas* (major portions, or

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764 613 621 quarters) for the other three sections of Tongo, since one of the hind quarters (*gbɛr*) remains with the 'owner of the funeral', the man who is celebrating it. Thus the genealogical cleavage between Kuorəg and the rest of Tongo asserted itself. Kuorəg was treated as the *sunzɔp* of the rest of Tongo and received a forequarter, the remaining hind quarter going to the other three sections. There are stories of intra-clan quarrels in the [578] old days in which Puhug, Guŋ, and Seug banded themselves together against Kuorəg.

613 621 Nevertheless, in the corporate affairs of Tongo as a whole Kuorəg emerges as a segment of the same order as the other three sections. It is one of the four co-ordinate sections (*yizugət*). A significant index of this is the fact that in all four sections nine generations of ascendants are reckoned inclusively between the present section heads (*yizug kpeem*) and Mosuor. No Tongo man, however profoundly versed in the traditions and customs of his clan, is aware of this, however. Tallensi never have occasion to work out the genealogical relations of all the minimal segments of a maximal lineage with one another.

A man's genealogical knowledge is built up gradually and piecemeal in the give and take of social life, by participation in jural, ritual, and ceremonial activities. But a man of wide experience knows the lineage ancestry of the component segments of his own *dug* as far as its founding ancestor; he will know who were the putative brothers of this man, the founding ancestors of the other major segments of his section, and their sons, the founding ancestors of large sub-segments like Nɔpugzabɔr yidɛm, in his section; and he will know the founding ancestors of the other *yizugət* of the clan, and possibly their sons; but he will not know the whole descent of other major segments of other sections.

The nine-generation ladder of ascent found at Tongo is an index of the structural differentiation and internal equilibrium of the clan. As we have already observed, the maximal lineage (and Tongo functions as a maximal lineage, though strictly speaking it is not one) is unalterably fixed. Its major segments cannot be altered in relation to one another by further segmentation of its minimal segments. Its internal equilibrium is a function of the relations between its major segments; and the same principle applies to each major segment. This is symbolized in the tree of ascent of the people of Tongo. The structure of the maximal lineage does not permit of the recognition of more than one generation between Mosuor and his nine putative grandsons. Following the simplest possible pattern of symmetrical lineage segmentation, all Mosuor's progeny are first divided into two major (matri-)segments in accordance with the stereotyped scheme of differentiation by reference to their progenitrices; and each of these is again segmented on the same principle. Kuorəg counts as a section of the same order as Puhug, Guŋ, and Seug in the corporate affairs of the whole sub-clan, because this is necessary for the equilibrium of the sub-clan. The internal differentiation of Sɛyahəg biis has reached an advanced stage. The relative autonomy of the three sections that constitute it is now so great that they can only act together as equal partners. Each of these three sections has a corporate unity and common interests that sometimes bring it into conflict with the other two

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or with Kuorəg. They have no greater common interests uniting them in opposition to Kuorəg. Whenever they unite for action they do so in the service of the common interests of the whole sub-clan, and this necessarily includes Kuorəg. This involves a distribution of roles and responsibilities equally amongst all four sections (Puhug, Guŋ, Seug, and Kuorəg), which places them all on a footing of equality.

Demographic factors have perhaps contributed to this development, though its determining principles lie in the structure of the maximal lineage. I estimate the total population of Kuorəg (men, women, and children), including members of the section and their families who live at Gbambee and Biuŋ, at about 400. Numerically it is considerably less than half the size of Guŋ, less than three-quarters as large as Puhug, and barely bigger than Seug. Kuorəg occupies a correspondingly smaller area than any of the other sections.

These demographic conditions have, it may be conjectured, enhanced the effect of the forces operating to maintain a balance between the segments of the maximal lineage. Looking at Tongo as unit, we may compare it with an arch which stands firm as long as the thrust and counter-thrust of its component forces are balanced. But it is a living arch, the elements of which are in a continuous process of mutual adjustment controlled by the need to maintain the equilibrium of the whole. The same principle can be seen at work in the maximal lineage and in every segment of a maximal lineage down to the smallest, and that is why Kuorəg has been forced into the position of a segment co-ordinate with the other three sections of Tongo, even though it is genealogically super-ordinate to them. This is a necessary condition of its continuing to be a part of Tongo.

The analogy of the arch is particularly pertinent to the structural equilibrium of Tongo. For whenever the four sections co-operate in a ceremonial or jural situation involving the clan as a unit, Puhug and Kuorəg are grouped together in contraposition to Guŋ and Seug, also grouped together. It is shown in small things as well as big things. When, for instance, the beast offered at an important sacrifice or ceremonially slaughtered at a funeral is to be flayed, the elders of each section, as befits their equality of status in the maximal lineage, select two of their younger co-members to do the flaying. Then Puhug and Kuorəg take the left flank, Guŋ and Seug the right; the titbits (*siit-numət*), which are the perquisite of the skinners, are divided equally between the two sides. Similarly at the initial divination for the Harvest Festival, Puhug and Kuorəg take one calabash of flour-water (*zɔm kuɔm*), Guŋ and Seug the other. Whenever the elders of all the sections gather in the chief's *zɔŋ*, that is how they sit—Puhug and Kuorəg on one side, Guŋ and Seug on the other.

The corporate activities and common interests in which the unity and solidarity of a maximal lineage are manifested vary according to the range of segments they mobilize and the degree to which participation in them is obligatory. Funerals and marriages are typical of situations in which there is a variable field of corporate action. Rights and duties associated with them are graded in accordance with lineage distance. The age,

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

sex, station in life, character, and reputation of the deceased all influence the reactions of people to a death and the range of participation in the funeral ceremonies. Every death is the corporate concern of the deceased's medial lineage—his *dug* of the *yizug*. It is less stringently the corporate concern of the whole *yizug*. Funerals of old and important men evoke the participation of the whole clan or sub-clan, but it is clan solidarity and corporate obligation on the level of the section that draw *sunzɔ* sections to the ceremonies. Only the death of a chief, a tendaana, or other politico-ritual functionary, is the obligatory concern of every segment of the clan or maximal lineage. Funerals of women and young people or children impose no obligations on *sunzɔ* sections of the

Diagram showing internal segmentation of Tongo.

——— Thick lines mark off sections (*Yizugɔt*)

- - - - Broken lines mark off major segments of sections, that is medial lineages (*dugɔt*)

deceased's (or her husband's) section. Whether or not their representatives come to condole with the bereaved household or to take part in the burial and funeral ceremonies rests entirely with the individual members of these sections and depends on individual ties of neighbourhood, kinship, or friendship with the deceased's family and *dug*. A funeral, even that of a politico-ritual officer, is primarily the direct concern of every member of the deceased's segment of the clan or maximal lineage. It concerns *sunzɔ* segments only at the level of corporate relations, because every event that affects the existence and constitution of one part of the clan or maximal lineage impinges on its common interests.

We may contrast with this a corporate activity in a wider sense, such as the sacrifice to Mosuor at Tongo, to which we have several times referred, the Harvest Festival, or the communal hoeing of the chief's bush farm, which has become an established custom under British rule. The pivot of these activities is always the chief, who stands for the whole sub-clan and its common interests and values, and whose office transcends the cleavages inherent in its lineage segmentation. In these activities the

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

four major segments of the clan have an equal role. All have the same obligations and the same rights, vested in them as corporate units defined in relation to the whole clan; and all the segments must participate in equal degree. A similar corporate activity in a clan like Zubiuŋ is a sacrifice to the External *Bɔyar*, Duunkpaləg.

The four sections of Tongo are equal and co-ordinate in political and jural matters. In religious matters of common interest Puhug is senior (*kpeem*) to the other sections. This is because Mosuor's grave and *bɔyar* and Sɛyahəg's grave and *bɔyar* are the exclusive charge of Puhug, whose section head (*yizug kpeem*) always has custody of these shrines and officiates in sacrifices to them.

The Local Embodiment of the Ritual Focus of the Sub-clan

Puhug was the original home (*daboog*) of Mosuor. There he dwelt beside Tɛndaan Gɛnət, the site of whose *daboog* is now the sacred dancing-ground of the *Giŋgaaŋ* Festival, hence called Giŋgaaŋ Puhug. This is the hub of Tongo as an enduring and stable local unit. Whatever vicissitudes the clan may suffer, whether it expands or contracts, however widely its members may be dispersed, Giŋgaaŋ Puhug remains for ever fixed and inviolable, the heart of the clan and the visible and consecrated sign of its existence and persistence. At the edge of Giŋgaaŋ Puhug is the grave of Tɛndaan Gɛnət, and nearby are the graves of the first ancestors of Mosuor biis—Mosuor, Sɛyahəg, and Bɔyada—marking the sites where their homesteads stood. Thus the ritual and ideological focus of Tongo's corporate unity as a descent group (and the same rule applies to all Tale clans) is directly bound up with its physical counterpart, the local focus of Tongo's unity and identity. In clans that have tɛndaanas, it is usually the principal Earth shrine (*tɔŋgban*) that is the consecrated local focus of the clan.

Mosuor's grave, marked by an irregular flat heap of large stones, lies under an enormous old baobab tree which the people of Tongo say *is* Mosuor (see map of Tongo). On the side of the trunk facing the grave are signs of the sacrifices offered there—dirty streaks of dried blood and flour-water, and patches of fowl and guinea-fowl feathers stuck to the trunk with blood. It is a prominent landmark in Puhug, and a favourite shade tree for the people of the nearby homesteads. There the old men come and rest on hot afternoons, infants are put out to sit, well protected from the sun, while their mothers get on with the household work, and older children come to play or to swing in the branches. It is characteristic of the Tallensi that the people of Tongo treat their most sacred shrines in this realistic and matter-of-fact way in the context of everyday life. The tree is sacred, it is a *Bayăr*, but it is also just a tree, whose ritual significance is not relevant except on a ritual occasion. Then it is treated with appropriate reverence. And this is true, also, of ancestral graves, which are often treated very casually and sometimes allowed to fall into such neglect that none but the elders of the lineage descended from him know exactly where a particular ancestor's grave is. Mosuor's grave, however, being of such outstanding ritual importance for the whole of Tongo, is more carefully kept and is always treated with respect.

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

778 The graves of Sɛyahəg and Bəyada lie within a couple of minutes' walk
769 of each other and of Mosuor's baobab in Puhug. Though Bəyada's grave is in the middle of the home farm of a Puhug man, its custody is vested in Kuorəg, whose head comes to sacrifice there periodically. Similarly Siiyɛŋ, Kəbər, and Bəyayiedət, the ancestors of Guŋ and Dekpieŋ, lie buried at Guŋ proper, at the *daboog* of this *yizug*, though the majority of their descendants live at Dekpieŋ.

173 For the people of Tongo—and this also applies to all Tallensi except
764 the Hill Talis—the disposition of graves maps out the gradual increase or diminution in numbers of the clan or any segment of the clan through the generations, and its gradual territorial expansion or retraction. Thus Tɛndaan Gɛnət's house site and grave in the centre of Puhug are accepted as proof that the Gbizugdɛm lived there at the time of Mosuor's arrival and were gradually pushed out to their present location by the spreading of Mosuor's progeny. The founding ancestor of Zubiuŋ Yakəradɛm, Gɛnət's putative brother, is also believed to have lived at Puhug at that remote period, and they, too, are said to have been dispossessed by Mosuor biis. Similarly the location of Bəyada's grave is proof to the natives that the growing numbers of Puhugdɛm caused his descendants to withdraw gradually into what is now Kuorəg.

Structure of the Clan Settlement among non-Namoos

613 Among Talis as well as Namoos in the older part of Taleland, the clan
●621 settlement is built up round the lineage in this way. In composite clans
764 the tendency is always for each constituent maximal lineage to form a locally distinct though not strictly demarcated aggregate, and for the segments of these *yizugət* to follow the same rule more markedly. The correlation of residence with lineage, ancestral lands, and the graves of the ancestors holds. At Zubiuŋ, at Ba'ari, and among the non-Namoo clans living in the vicinity of Yaməlag and Sie—the group of clans which the Hill Talis regard as having been culturally influenced by the Namoos—a person is buried among his own (or her husband's) immediate forebears near the homestead. The Hill Talis bury their dead in small cemeteries, each section (*yizug*) or main segment (*dug*) of a section usually
[184 having its own. Among all the Talis and the non-Namoos of the Sie
778] district a sacred grove (*tɔŋgban*) or an External *Bɔyar* takes the place of the sacred dancing-ground at Tongo as the local and spiritual focus of the settlement. The homestead of the *yizug* head, housing the most important shrines of its ancestors, whatever his ritual office may be, is often fixed, so that when a man succeeds to the office he takes possession also of the homestead that goes with it; thus the idea of the home of the maximal lineage has an everlasting and consecrated embodiment in the actual homestead occupied by its head.

184 Among the clans which have tɛndaanas the local anchorage of the
793 clan and of its constituent maximal lineages is, in some respects, even
621 stronger than among the Namoos. It is more conspicuously wrought into their institutions and more obviously sacrosanct, since the office of tɛndaana presupposes very special ritual bonds, the strongest bonds known to the Tallensi, of a maximal lineage with locality.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

Structure of Peripheral Settlements

In the newer settlements there are no lineages of large span. Where segments of maximal lineages, whose homes are in the old settlements, have been settled for more than a generation, those of their members remaining in the peripheral settlements do not always live in close proximity to one another. People shift readily to take up new land, and spread widely so as to have a large area for cultivation immediately around the homestead, as we have learnt. But the tendency for a lineage to become locally stabilized on the land of its ancestors, near their graves and original home, operates strongly too, and has been strengthened in recent years.

Many men at Woo, Biuŋ, and Datɔk now live on land originally broken for cultivation by their fathers, grandfathers, and even great-grandfathers. A powerful incentive to remain there is the fact that they now hold this land by right of inheritance. An irresistible sanction binding them to these new settlements is the fact that their fathers and grandfathers lie buried there. Born and bred in these settlements, they look upon them as their homes, while maintaining strong ties with their original clan settlements, which they regard as the clan homes.

The effect is to establish new, permanent, local nuclei for minor branches of lineages anchored in the old settlement. Around these nuclei we sometimes find a small cluster of homesteads, the heads of which are all members of a lineage segment of two, three, or at the most four generations. But this is far from common. As we have mentioned before, these settlements have been, and are being, occupied by people of very diverse genealogical origin from all parts of Taleland and neighbouring areas. This is particularly marked in the case of Datɔk. Biuŋ and Woo have been settled chiefly by people from Tongo and the places immediately adjacent to or socially connected with Tongo. In addition to the bonds of local cohesion the inhabitants of these places have also the ties of political and ritual interdependence which they bring with them from their original clan settlements. At Datɔk no such bonds are carried over into the new community. A Gban man may have as his nearest neighbours a man from Ba'ari, a man from Bɔlɔga, a man from Yamɔlɔg, and a man from Bongo. The basis of political unity is locality rather than lineage. The sections of Datɔk, for example, are local units, wards, or quarters, not genealogical-cum-local units.

But it is characteristic of Tale social organization that the bonds of local association never stand alone and are never sufficient in themselves to generate bonds of solidarity. Mere contiguity requires some degree of mutual accommodation. It does not, in a society without a constituted legal system or territorially organized political units, create mutual legal obligations, or provide a basis for corporate relations between individuals. Hence it must be reinforced by, and indeed founded on, more fundamental ties which are morally and jurally binding in their own right. In the older settlements lineage ties have this function; in new settlements kinship ties take their place.

The following excerpt from a census of a part of Datɔk illustrates this.

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

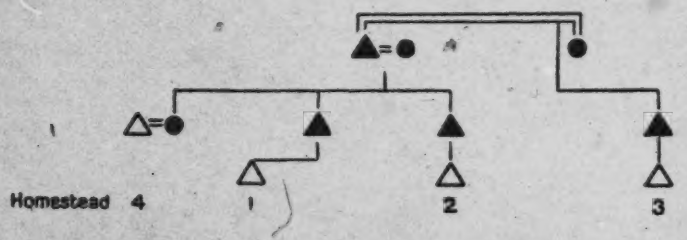
613 It will be seen that both affinal and cognatic kinship ties regulate the
●621 collocation of homesteads.
166 *Section: Zalɔmwuuri.* (A local subdivision of Datɔk, named after the stream forming one of its boundaries.)

Homestead 1. This belongs to Latammi, a man of about 55, whose father, a Gar man, came to build his house and to farm here about fifty years ago. He died and was buried at his new home. Latammi, his eldest son, then inherited the homestead and the surrounding farm-land, and remained living there.

Homestead 2. About 200 yards away, is owned by Latammi's father's younger brother's (*pit soog*) son. This young man formerly shared Latammi's homestead but recently moved out to set up in his own.

Homestead 3. About 250 yards away from 1. Latammi's father's half-brother (*sunzɔ*) built this homestead, having come to settle here shortly after Latammi's father. This man died recently and the homestead and surrounding farm-land now belong to his son.

The following genealogy shows how the heads of these three homesteads are related:



Together they constitute a lineage of small span, a segment of a greater lineage whose home is at Gar. Their residential collocation is exactly the same as it would be if they were living at Gar or in any of the older settlements.

Homestead 4. About 200 yards from 1. This is the homestead of a Ba'ari man who migrated to Datɔk about three years ago. He is a brother-in-law (sister's husband) (*dakii*) of Latammi's late father (see genealogy above), and was, on this account, given land on which to build and settle by the latter's half-brother's son of Homestead 3.

Homestead 5. About a quarter of a mile from 1. This belongs to Naambɔn, whose father, a man from Bɔlɔga, came to build and settle here some forty years ago. This man had first migrated from Bɔlɔga to Kɔsabɔlɔg, on the outskirts of Duusi. While he was living there Teroog (now an old man), a member of the same maximal lineage as Latammi's father, who lives in another section of Datɔk, married one of the Bɔlɔga man's daughters. The land he held at Duusi proved to be unsatisfactory, so Naambɔn's father decided to move to Datɔk. Through the good offices
[606] of his son-in-law, Teroog, he was introduced to Latammi's father, who (as a son-in-law (*deem*) in the classificatory sense) gave him land to settle on near the fringe of the huge area he had marked out as a farm for himself.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

This small sample is typical of the relationships that unite neighbours at Datɔk. The settlement is divided up into such clusters of homesteads, numbering anything from four or five homesteads to about a dozen, which have grown up around the homestead of a man who migrated to settle there forty or fifty years ago when Datɔk was still uninhabited bush.

Gradually the original settlers were joined by younger members of their lineages and kinsmen, migrating for economic or psychological reasons but drawn to this particular place by their kinship ties. Often several such clusters of homesteads close to one another, the owners of which are linked among themselves by ties of lineage or kinship, are grouped round men who are themselves linked by lineage or kinship. They are the original settlers, or more usually the sons or grandsons of the original settlers, who built their homesteads far apart from one another so as to have ample land for cultivation close at hand, and then 'cut' (*ŋma*) parcels of this land for the immigrants who filtered in subsequently.

In these conditions a great deal of intermarriage takes place between neighbours and within the local community, since many different clans are represented in the community. Tallensi are more inclined to marry people who live nearby than to take spouses from a distance; and at Datɔk marriage between the children of men who happen to be neighbours because of their kinship with a third man, but are themselves not related, is very common.[1] This weaves the mesh of kinship ties yet more finely, binding neighbour to neighbour still more closely and firmly.

It is evident that the corporate life of a community like Datɔk—and this applies only in a lesser degree to other peripheral settlements of mixed origins—must differ in many ways from that of the older settlements. Two clans, Gar and Gban, are numerically and politically dominant at Datɔk, just as Zoo is at Biuŋ, and the Hill Talis are at Moɣaduur, and the people of these numerically superior clans or lineages can co-operate and unite for action in the same way as the segments of the clan do in the old settlements. People who have very few or no clansmen or lineage brothers in the settlement are in a different position. In Tale jural and ceremonial relations all matters of importance are dealt with corporately by lineages. Thus, if a Ba'ari man living at Datɔk suffers a bereavement, takes a wife, marries off a daughter, gets involved in a dispute, or has to make an important sacrifice, he has to call upon the elders of his lineage and clan at Ba'ari to support him in the action required. His extra-clan kinsmen at Datɔk cannot give him corporate assistance, though they would be individually helpful. Similarly he takes part in the economic, jural, and ceremonial events in which his Datɔk neighbours and kinsmen are involved only as an individual actuated by ties of personal kinship and concern for the welfare of particular people. In other words, these outlying settlements are still politically inchoate. They are still mainly social and political apanages of the older settlements from which they have been colonized; very many of their members are still tied into the structure of their natal clan-settlements, and are still

[1] I state this in a general way, as I did not take a sufficiently large sample of marriages at Datɔk to give a numerical indication of the extent of marriage within the settlement.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

621 613 177 loyal to the interests of these clan settlements. But the political structure of the newer settlements is rapidly crystallizing out, on the basis of a territorial unity reinforced by inter-individual kinship ties. This process has been greatly accelerated under the influence of British rule, with its stress on the territorial definition of political units and the support it gives to chiefs and headmen in the exercise of administrative and judicial functions.

Seniority and Authority in the Lineage

613 182 In the course of our morphological analysis of the lineage system from within, we have made many references to the corporate activities in which this system emerges. As in our study of clanship, it has been convenient to speak as if the lineage structure exists and persists apart from the activities in which it emerges. But this is only an analytical device which we shall consider more fully presently. The implied distinction between the structure of the lineage and its functions does, however, bring out the important fact that the lineage structure is more than any of its functions. It is the integral of what is common to all Tale institutions in which the patrilineal line operates as an organizing principle. It is the general factor of consistency, coherence, and continuity in the social structure.

613 The concept of social structure essentially implies ordered extension *in time* as well as ordered articulation *at a given time*. This is often overlooked in the study of primitive society. Among the Tallensi the lineage system enables us to see the operation of the time factor in social structure in a very concrete way.[1] We see how the lineage structure at a given time incapsulates[2] all that is structurally relevant of its past phases and at the same time continually thrusts its growing-points forward. The dynamic equilibrium of a lineage is an equilibrium in time.

The key position, whenever a lineage emerges in function—and this applies to lineages of any span and all orders of segmentation—is that of the lineage head (*kpeem*). He is, to revert to an analogy previously used, the keystone of the arch. He does not stand above the lineage; he is part of it. *Kpeem* literally means 'senior': a *kpeem* is a senior, an elder. The head of the lineage is the most senior male of the group. The head of a lineage and his age or generation equals in the lineage are collectively designated 'the elders (*kpem*)'. They are for the most part the heads of the component segments of the lineage.

613 888 The rule of seniority, as might be expected in so homogeneous and equalitarian a society, plays an important part in all Tale social relations. When a group of boys are out herding cattle the oldest among them are in charge. The women of a household defer to the most senior by generation, age, or marital status among them. In all collective activities of men the places of honour are taken by the most senior men, the *kpem*. Seniority commands deference at all times.

[1] Cf. my paper 'The Significance of Descent in Tale Social Structure', *cit. supra*; also Forde, op. cit. and his previous papers cited there; and a brilliant discussion of this point in E. E. Evans-Pritchard's *The Nuer*, ch. 3.

[2] I owe this valuable concept to R. G. Collingwood's *Autobiography*.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

631 Rhodesia,[1] or the Ashanti of the Gold Coast.[2] These peoples have a
171 pyramidal social structure corresponding to their pyramidal form of government. From the village to the tribal unit we find a hierarchy of territorial-political units, the greater made up of a collection of the lesser, and culminating in the whole tribal unit. This is associated with a corresponding hierarchy of political offices, from the village headman to the paramount chief at the apex. Among the Tallensi[3] there is no single person or body of persons vested with supreme executive and administrative authority over the whole of Taleland. Government is laterally distributed amongst all the corporate units that make up the society, instead of being vertically distributed as in pyramidal societies. All the corporate units are, broadly speaking, politically equal; all are segments of the same structural order.

●621 This is one aspect of what is meant by describing Tale society as segmentary in form. But the concept has further implications. The corporate units that compose Tale society are not a casual agglomerate of discrete bodies, but are socially articulated and interconnected with one another; and they are thus interrelated in a segmentary series. This principle of association between defined social units runs right through the structure of Tale society. It means that small units of a particular form are, like cells, associated together into larger units of the same general form, and these again associated into still larger units of analogous or identical form, and so on up to the limits of the system. This rule holds whether the associations are temporary, for a particular end, or form permanent groupings. Furthermore, the principles according to which the associations occur are either uniform for a whole series of segments of increasing dimension or are so related to one another that principles operating on one level presuppose the principles operating on a lower level.

128 This is an architectural way of looking at the structure of Tale society. It is the line we have largely followed in the preceding chapters, where we have been concerned with the largest corporate units into which the Tallensi are organized. Our attention has been fixed mainly on the permanent edifice in which social relations and activities are congealed rather than on their emergence in process. We have been analysing the product of social segmentation rather than the process itself. To distinguish between product and process is, however, merely an analytic convenience in dealing with social facts. In reality what we denote as a product is a set of regularities and recurrences of process. A corporate unit is really the sum total of corporate relations and activities occurring amongst a defined group of individuals. We can think of a maximal lineage as an architectural segment of a composite clan in the same way as we can picture one storey of a modern building as a lateral segment of the whole. A maximal lineage, however, differs from a part of a building of brick and wood in that it is not always 'there', tactually and visibly.

[1] Cf. Richards, Audrey I., 'The Political System of the Bemba Tribe', in *African Political Systems*, and *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, 1939.

[2] Cf. Rattray, R. S., *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, 1929.

[3] A fuller analysis will be found in the 'Introduction' and in my article on 'The Political System of the Tallensi' in *African Political Systems*.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

It emerges when certain social processes and activities are in play; it is 183
potential when they are not in play. Difficult as it is to convey this to a reader, it is something which the observer is constantly aware of. A maximal lineage emerges only in relation to other maximal lineages, and a clan in relation to other clans. When we speak of lineages being segmentarily related to one another and to the composite clan embracing them, we mean that their relations are mutual, symmetrical, and summative. A is related to B in the same way as B is related to A and the sum of their interrelations gives us a set of relations of the same kind but of higher order.

Putting it thus abstractly, however, leaves out a point of the utmost importance. The relations between individuals and between groups in which corporate units like the maximal lineage emerge are social relations. They are subject to jural, moral, and ritual norms; they are the means of achieving human purposes, of getting a livelihood, of marrying and procreating, of expressing emotional attitudes, organizing the intercourse of people, and so forth. A maximal lineage emerges in terms of jurally, morally, and ritually defined ties and cleavages that exist between it and other specified maximal lineages. A segmentary relationship between lineages or any other social units implies the existence of specific ties and cleavages which have the effect of making each unit a determining factor in the emergence of the other units. This is the basis of the concept of a field of social relations which we have used to describe the way in which lineages are differentiated from and articulated with one another.

The concept of a field of social relations has enabled us to see how 181
clanship acts as a factor of social integration. Through the overlapping of the fields of clanship of adjacent maximal lineages chains of clanship ties interlinking a whole group of lineages are established. Thus each lineage can be regarded as the centre of a series of zones of clanship of increasing amplitude and diminishing integration. The clan is the central region of such a system, a wider community like that of the Hill Talis constitutes the next region, and beyond that lie still wider regions of diminishing importance for the members of the lineage that is taken as the starting-point.

We have seen that there are three major sub-regions within the socio- 621
geographic region we have called Taleland, within each of which there is a greater degree of interarticulation of lineages and clans, and therefore closer integration, than there is between them. But the three sub-regions overlap with each other and with adjacent non-Tale regions. They have a particularly important connecting system in the chain of sub-clans of Mosuor biis.

This system of regions or communities constituted primarily by the 621
operation of the ties and cleavages of clanship is the foundation of a 182
scheme of ritual values and relationships which serves to reinforce the clanship organization by means of mystical sanctions and by co-ordinating the interrelations of lineages and clans at a higher level. Among the Tallensi the web of clanship and the web of ritual relationships take the place, as mechanisms of social integration, of a constituted governmental

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

framework in politically centralized societies. Tale political relations are dominated by the facts of genealogical connexion on the one hand, and by the bonds of ritual interdependence on the other.

Looking only at the macroscopic structure of Tale society, therefore, we realize that it is a very complicated mosaic in which every tie between corporate units is counterbalanced by cleavages between them, all loyalties between corporate units are kept within bounds by loyalties towards other units, and all common interests are set off by divergent interests. The Tallensi provide an interesting example of a society in which there is a very strong tendency towards a general equilibrium in the collective life. What we have called Tale society is a social region demarcated by the range of the dynamic equilibrium that prevails within it. Non-Tale means simply outside this equilibrium; or rather, to be precise, it means on and beyond the circumference of this equilibrium. This is the essential difference between societies like the Tallensi and those that derive their unity from defined territorial boundaries and subjection to a common, all-powerful government. That does not mean that a segmentary social structure and a pyramidal social structure are necessarily mutually exclusive. It is quite possible for the subdivisions of a centralized state to have a segmentary social organization.

Re-examination of the Major Cleavage: Warfare

Through this mosaic, however, runs a major cleavage of great significance, as we have learnt. It is most conspicuous in the Tongo area. For this there may be historical reasons, but we have no means of discovering them. What is beyond question is that this fact is a fundamental feature of the existing structure of the society. Tongo is the most important centre of Namoo settlement; the Tong Hills area is the pivot of the ritual cults and values which play so dominant a part in Tale political relations. In consequence, the cleavage upon which the whole politico-ritual system hinges is most conspicuous there.

When Tallensi discuss the cleavage between Namoos and non-Namoos, they often hark back to the wars of former days. There are still old men living who took part in the last of those wars, and many middle-aged men and women tell tales of the fighting they saw as children or heard of from their parents; these wars are also a common theme of funeral dirges.

But the Tallensi are not one of those warlike African peoples who have a hypnotic effect even on anthropologists. Like most peasants who wring a bare subsistence from the soil, they have much too prosaic an attachment to their homes, their families, and their farms, and much too lively an appreciation of the perils of commonplace living to overrate the warrior. Not that Tallensi are lacking in physical courage or combativeness. They are quick to resent a trespass on their rights and readily snatch up a weapon or missile if they are provoked. In the old days a fearless and successful fighter (*zai*, pl. *za'ab*) was admired. The deeds of some of these great fighters of old are still recounted with pride. To kill an enemy in war was something to boast of. It was a mark of manliness as well as an important service to the clan. But there was a dark side

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

which brought a particular unit into the fight compelled it also to retire when its allied clan made peace.

The fighting lasted only a few days, but many men were killed, the old men say, and much grain and live-stock destroyed. The Namoos suffered badly. So the following year, at the usual time for fighting, just before the commencement of the sowing season, while the granaries were still full, the then Chief of Tongo 'set up arrows (*sa peema*)'[1] again to revenge their defeat. Thus the 'debt was cancelled (*samər lerigya*)'.

In these wars the major cleavage of Tale society came into operation in its most acute form, and they give us a particularly clear insight into its meaning. The major cleavage between Namoos and non-Namoos is not an insuperable barrier like that which separates castes or races in some societies. It should rather be regarded as the coping-stone of the whole complex system of differentiation and integration of corporate units in Tale society by means of the structural ties and cleavages inherent in it.

Wars, among the Tallensi, were not acts of political policy, as we understand it. They were not fought for the sake of acquiring territory, of extending the authority of one group over another, of taking captives, or of pillage. Indeed pillage to enrich oneself was strictly tabooed. Tale wars were not even calculated acts of aggression. They usually arose out of impulsive acts of retaliation by individuals or small groups of clan brothers for attacks, as often as not unpremeditated, on their kin, their property, or their self-regard. If the parties involved in the quarrel belonged to clans on opposite sides of the major cleavage, the whole system of clanship and ritual ties might be swung into activity and the result would be a general war. It could not be otherwise, given the native system of genealogical relationships and the sentiments connected therewith.

The structure of Tale society as a dynamically integrated social region is incompatible with warfare directed towards political or economic domination. One consequence of their segmentary social structure was that they had no regular military organization. In war all the able-bodied men turned out carrying their bows and quivers of poisoned arrows, their adzes, and other weapons, and hung around with medicines, exactly as they do to-day to go hunting. All the fighting men of a clan, the men of each major segment forming a separate contingent, went out in a mob to meet the enemy at the outskirts of the settlement. Their women folk, many of whom were daughters of the enemy clans, carried water to them, dragged away casualties, and urged on the fighters with their shrill, trilling *kpɛlɔmət* cries. The fighting consisted of uncoordinated sorties and skirmishes by individuals or small parties, without fixed leadership and with no other purpose than to rout the enemy and thus reassert the flouted rights or restore the injured pride of the victors. Their principal weapon, a bow strung with a slither of bamboo firing an unfeathered poisoned arrow, made it necessary for a man to get within about 50 yards

[1] A clan-head could initiate a just war of revenge, with the consent of all the clan elders, and after consulting a diviner, in theory without incurring mystical blood-guilt. And yet, in after years, misfortunes falling on his descendants might be ascribed to this act.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

of an enemy in order to hit him. Fighting went on all day in spasms. At nightfall the men retired to their settlements to feast, dance, sing boastful songs, lament the dead, and rest. This was kept up for two or three days at most and then peace was made.[1]

Tale warfare inevitably took this form, since no single segment of the society and neither of the two major groups of clans had political power superior to any other segment or the other group. There is no institutional framework that could be extended so as to make any one segment paramount over the others as a result of a successful war. Every segment holds its allotted place in the whole system in virtue of complementary politico-ritual ties with the other segments, in particular with segments that would be opposed to it in war. They have common values and are subject to common ritual sanctions. Besides, their marriage rules and kinship system spread a wide network of affinal and cognatic relations between clans and lineages. Every Tale has cognatic or affinal kin in every clan within a radius of four or five miles of his own. Though corporate loyalties to his lineage and clan override his private loyalties to his kinsfolk of other clans, whenever the corporate interests of his unit are at stake, they do not extinguish them. Hence a man had to be very careful, in a fight, to avoid killing or injuring any of his own kinsmen who might be on the other side. Hence, also, the prohibition of pillage for one's own advantage. If the enemy was routed, the victors might descend on their settlement, set fire to the homesteads, burn the stored grain, slaughter and eat the live-stock; they could not carry off any of the enemy's possessions. A Namoo clan might fight a Talis clan; but it would be a grave sin against kinship morality for an individual Namoo to plunder or to take captive individual Talis, since they would most likely be the cognates or affines of members of his own clan and therefore indirectly of himself. The idea of killing the women folk or children of the enemy clan—who might easily be one's clan sisters or nephews—would have seemed monstrous.

Last, but not least, Tale economic organization is incompatible with warfare for material gain. There was and is no such thing as a tribe-wide or clan economy. Occupational differentiation, other than the division of labour between the sexes and in accordance with age, has barely emerged. Local trade is becoming increasingly important, but there was in the past no commerce other than barter and occasional petty trade. The Tallensi were and are still sedentary cultivators, using a primitive

[1] Tallensi often say that many men were killed and wounded in these fights. As they never counted their casualties it is impossible to get accurate figures from them. But taking account of the weapons used, the manner of fighting, and the duration of the fights, it is difficult to believe that casualties were in fact very heavy. As far as I can estimate, no more than three to four thousand men, fighting in scattered contingents of about 20 to 50 men, would be engaged in a general war. A settlement like Tongo, the largest in Taleland, would turn out between 200 and 300 fighting men at the outside. Putting together all that I was told, I would say that three or four men killed and a dozen wounded would have been regarded as a very heavy casualty list for Tongo in a day's fighting. It must be remembered, though, that the mortality from wounds was probably high, as the main non-magical treatment used was to suck the poison and pus out of the wound.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

and stationary form of hoe culture in which the volume of output is a direct product of human skill and muscle. The family group which produces the food, shelter, raiment, utensils, and weapons needed for its own subsistence can work only a limited amount of land. Wage labour is only sporadically employed for very short periods and to a negligible extent; twenty or thirty years ago it was almost non-existent. For technical and climatic reasons it is generally impossible for a subsistence unit to produce a regular surplus over current needs. And any surplus produced during any year is used up in meeting social or ritual obligations, in renewing the household's productive and living equipment, or in purchasing small numbers of live-stock destined to be used up, sooner or later, for obtaining wives or discharging social and ritual obligations.

The most valuable durable economic resource of the Tallensi is land; but as no rent, tax, or tribute is paid for the use of land, it would not profit a man to buy land he and his family could not work even in those parts where the sale of land is not a sacrilege. Nor would it be to the advantage of the head of a maximal lineage or clan to have authority over the land of another clan. He received no tax or tribute from his own clansmen, and the idea of exacting any such payments from others would never have occurred to him. In any case he had no means of enforcing such demands.

The scale of differences in wealth is narrow and was narrower in the past when there was no possibility of obtaining money by labour abroad or local trade. The stage has not yet been reached where a family group which has more resources than its neighbours thereby endows its members with permanent economic advantages or acquires, for any of them, special political or social powers and privileges.[1] The economic organization of the Tallensi was entirely, and to a great extent still is, a non-competitive, little differentiated, self-sufficient, stationary, subsistence economy. It acts as a stabilizing factor in the social system. It does not give rise, as yet, to social ties and cleavages cutting across those established by genealogical, local, and ritual principles. Economic incentives and interests did not influence the relations of clans with one another in the past, and did not therefore influence the course or aims of warfare.

That Tale warfare was a function of the segmentary structure of the society and not of political or economic ambitions is even clearer from the records of small-scale fights. It happened, quite often, that clans which were allies in general wars by reason of clanship or other structural ties fought among themselves. Like general wars, these local, interclan fights were kindled by such things as the abduction of a wife, quarrels over bride-price payments, the slaying of a man in a dispute between members of different clans or in a cattle raid, or simply by young men flaunting the corporate unity and independence of their clan in the face of another clan. Once started they followed the usual course of all social activities by setting the lineage system in motion and involving the patri-

[1] Except for a handful of chiefs and the Golibdaana mentioned later; but even in their case the absence of facilities for investing wealth in land or other durable (capital) goods means that their wealth is rapidly dissipated by sons and grandsons.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

food, beer, tobacco, kola nuts, and household and farming equipment, must be hoarded. One result has been that the Gəlibdaana's ambitions have been enormously inflated. He has been striving to turn his wealth into prestige. He would fain be a great chief, and has for years been scheming and intriguing to this end. As is common in African societies to which European contact has opened up new economic opportunities that are wholly or partially divorced from their own social structure and economic system, the Gəlibdaana's response to the opportunity offered by the pilgrim traffic has been a mixture of cupidity, calculation, and unbridled self-interest.

The point of interest here is the effect of the Gəlibdaana's monopoly on the interrelations of the Hill Talis clans. All the other clans of the Hills view it with open envy, in particular Kpata'ar, the clan immediately contiguous with the Gəlibdaana's clan, Bunkiuk. The people of Kpata'ar claim political superiority to Bunkiuk, on the strength of their being (as they assert) *primus inter pares* in the scheme of ritual collaboration among the Hill clans. They therefore demand the lion's share of the pilgrim traffic with the south, though they are now wholly excluded from it. The other clans of the Hills excluded from this traffic make similar but smaller demands. It is, in effect, a demand for a distribution of the profits of this new economic application of the *Bɔyar* cult on the same lines as the distribution of the traditional client villages. In the traditional arrangement the economic exploitation of the cult follows the accepted principles of equality and equilibrium in the social system. Each of the dozen or so *Bɔya* of the Hill Talis had its group of client communities exclusively reserved for it and there were no great variations between the profits of one *Bɔyar* and another.

An immediate result has been that the Gəlibdaana no longer exercises undisputed headmanship, as the executive agent of the Administration, over all the Tɛnzugu clans. In 1933 he was in control of all the Tɛnzugu clans in all matters falling under the jurisdiction of the Administration. He called out the young men for road building or rest-house repairs; exacted a tribute from all independent householders living on top of the Hills or entitled to live there; and judged all cases brought against Tɛnzugu people or sent on cases from Tɛnzugu to other headmen or chiefs. Since 1936 the Kpata'ar faction has refused to submit to his control in these matters. Meanwhile the Administration has ruled that neither the Gəlibdaana nor the Kpata'arna'ab shall be recognized as headman of the Tɛnzugu clans until the people have settled among themselves which of them is rightfully entitled to the post. So there are now two headmen.

To-day a silent feud, taking the form of intrigue and conspiracies to undermine one another's reputation with the Administration, rages among the Hill Talis. On one side stands the Gəlibdaana and his faction, the nucleus of which is the majority of his own maximal lineage; on the other the factions hostile to him, chief of which is the maximal lineage of the Kpata'arna'ab. The struggle has become so acute, on several occasions, that bloodshed was only prevented by the fear of stern intervention by the District Commissioner.

The feud follows the lines of cleavage between clans and maximal

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

621 lineages inherent in the native social structure. The majority of the
622 Gəlibdaana's own maximal lineage share in the profits of his monopoly
177 and are solidly behind him; the maximal lineages of the leaders of the
578 opposition are solidly against him; but many of the maximal lineages that have clanship or ritual links with both sides are split. Many of the young men of these lineages side with the Gəlibdaana—enticed, their elders say bitterly, by his lavish gifts. The older men are uneasily neutral or tacitly opposed to the Gəlibdaana because he has brought dissension to the Hills and has flouted some of the ancient ritual customs. Both parties try to manœuvre the opposition into a position which will set the Administration in motion against them; the leaders of both parties say that the white man's authority is the only force that will help them to victory. And they feel particularly bitter because the vigilance of Administrative officers has frustrated all their efforts to exploit this potent sanction.

At the same time they try to use the sanctions of their own social structure to gain their aims. For outside the struggle for control of the pilgrim traffic, the ties of clanship, kinship, and ritual collaboration remain valid as before. During the Great Festivals the feud sinks into temporary abeyance. The Gəlibdaana and the Kpata'arna'ab speak with hatred of each other when it is a question of political power or the pilgrim traffic; they continue to perform those rites of the Great Festivals and of the Earth cult in which they are ritually obliged to collaborate, with apparent cordiality. This is a 'separate thing' they declare. It would be an appalling sin bringing catastrophe on the whole country, they say, if they threw over these bonds.

But the new alinements in the pecuniary struggle and the traditional social structure cannot be kept apart in watertight compartments. The Kpata'arna'ab and the Gəlibdaana try to coerce each other through their mutual ritual obligations. They try to put pressure on each other through maximal lineages that are intercalary between their lineages; and to win over the other maximal lineages with which they have clanship or ritual ties.

Experienced elders maintain, with the sceptical candour that is one of the few charms Tallensi have for an ethnographer, that this can never decide the issue. Putting it at its highest, the bonds of clanship, kinship, and ritual collaboration are a double-edged weapon. If Kpata'ar tries to coerce Samiit to side with it by refusing to collaborate with Samiit in the rites of their common External *Bəyar*, the ancestors might well blame Kpata'ar and punish them. Tallensi are not—so the old men say—restrained from doing something to their personal advantage by the fear of mystical penalties. 'Who fears death before death comes upon you?' It is only after a death occurs that the survivors see in it signs and omens referring to their social relations with one another.

578 Whenever a death occurs in any of the Hill clans, especially if it is the
764 death of an important person, the chronic discord between them is openly recollected. It is both a symptom of the general feeling of uneasiness and a move in the game of attempted mutual coercion by mystical sanctions. A funeral almost inevitably causes this feeling to be ventilated. For people of all the Tenzugu and many other clans are present, as kinsfolk, affines,

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

neighbours, and friends of the deceased. They feel the contradiction between their mutual bonds of amity with one another as kin or friends and their latent hostility, in other situations, as members of opposed corporate units. Thus it often happens that when a diviner is publicly consulted about the mystical cause of the death, he attributes it to the anger of the ancestors or the Earth over the disharmony on the hills. Even if this is not the diviner's verdict, the faction opposing that to which the dead man belonged will interpret his death in this sense. Thus when the Sakpee tendaana died, the men of Kpata'ar, including some of his own matrilateral kinsmen, were secretly almost jubilant. They were convinced that this death was a punishment, and a warning from the ancestors, for his defection from the Kpata'ar party to the Golibdaana's side; for the Sakpee tendaana is one of the ritual officers of the External *Boyar* of which Kpata'ardem are the senior custodians, as we have previously seen.

Up to now these mystical warnings have not been heeded. They have, at most, reinforced the tendency for the heads of maximal lineages to aline themselves on the same side as the maximal lineages with which they have ties of clanship and of ritual collaboration. For obviously these ties have greatest efficacy for the individuals who hold the offices through which they are normally expressed. The rank-and-file members of the lineages concerned often persist in the path of greatest self-interest. Nor have these warnings helped to mitigate the struggle between the Golibdaana's maximal lineage and the other lineages which take the lead in opposing him. To-day, as in the days of warfare, a man can keep up cordial personal relations with a kinsman in the opposite camp. He will not, because of his personal kinship ties with the enemy, contract out of his own lineage in issues affecting its corporate unity—least of all when the motive of profit is added to the bonds of lineage solidarity.

The disturbing effects of the Golibdaana's pecuniary enterprise have not been limited to Tenzugu. He has come into conflict with Yinduuri by claiming jurisdiction over a section of Zandoya that has always been regarded as coming within the field of social and politico-ritual relations of Yinduuri (see p. 163). He is not on speaking terms with the Boyaraana of Sii, who claims to be the senior ritual functionary of the Wannii *Boyar* as well as the senior chief of all the Talis, and therefore demands control of the pilgrim traffic with the south. He has gravely offended the Chief of Tongo, his own brother-in-law, by wrongfully assuming the insignia and aping the etiquette of a superior chief, and by bribing the Paramount Chief of the Mamprusi to invest him with the rank of a chief of high status. But for the intervention of the Administration this particular quarrel would already have led to serious disturbances, for the people of Tongo are extremely jealous of the rank and status of their chiefship and unanimously resent the Golibdaana's presumption. It is notable that they do not in the least envy the Golibdaana his pecuniary monopoly. Frankly despising the fertility and oracle aspects of the *Boyar* cult as a piece of fraudulent magic, they look on the money gained through the pilgrim traffic as tainted. In this matter Namoos and Talis have not got a sphere of common interests within which they might be rivals. The interests of Tongo and Bunkiuk intersect only in relation to the

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

622 578 Chiefship of Tongo, to which the Gɔlibdaana's office has a politico-ritual relationship.

621 182 621, 578 The point that must be stressed, however, is that the Gɔlibdaana's monopoly has not yet thrown the existing scheme of structural alinements into complete disorder. It is a factor of disequilibrium and may, in the course of a few more years, make serious rents in the complex fabric of the social and politico-ritual relationships of the Hill Talis. Up to the present the native social structure, and in particular the web of ritual collaboration, has resisted the corruption and kept in check, to a very considerable extent, the dissensions due to this new force. This might well go on as long as the Administration keeps the ring impartially, and as long as the Gɔlibdaana and his maximal lineage accept the politico-ritual values on which the integration of the Hill Talis rests, and abide by the principal jural and moral norms of the society. So far the struggle has not given rise to new corporate associations running counter to those of the existing social structure. In fact, it has on the whole been canalized along the lines of cleavage laid down in that structure. It has deepened some of the existing cleavages and sharpened some of the inherent tensions of the system; but it has also accentuated some of the ties and enhanced the dominant values of the system. Thus the only section of Kpata'ar that has vacillated, at times, in its loyalty is Nak-y-eet yidɛm, the assimilated lineage. They have been influenced by their lineage differentiation from Kpata'ar proper, their consequent subsidiary interest in the politico-ritual status of the head of Kpata'ar proper, their clanship ties with the Sakpee section that has gone over to the Gɔlibdaana, and the greed of their lineage head. But their intercalary structural position between the two factions is shown in their divided counsels. Some of the older men are whole-heartedly for Kpata'ar, one or two adhere publicly to the Gɔlibdaana, several try to keep on good terms with both parties. When they have to take a stand as a corporate unit, their bias is towards the Kpata'arna'ab in ritual and intra-clan affairs, and towards the Gɔlibdaana in matters of law and government coming within his purview as a headman under the Administration. On the other hand, the ancient ties between Kpata'ar and Gundaat have been greatly strengthened, the bond of goodwill between Kpata'ar and Tongo, based on their politico-ritual interdependence, given a new meaning, and moves to defend the traditional social order stimulated.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

POSTSCRIPT

THIS book has dealt with the constitution and interrelations of the corporate groupings found in Tale society. But this is only one major aspect of Tale social structure. There is another major aspect of no less importance, the system of interpersonal social bonds that constitutes the Kinship System in the strict sense. The lineage and clan organization forms the permanent framework of social relations in Taleland. But it is based on certain fundamental categories of thought and axioms of conduct that derive from a different cross-section of Tale social life, the domestic organization. The well-worn simile of the warp and the woof is apposite here. We can think of the lineage and clan organization as the warp of the social fabric of the Tallensi. Interwoven with it, sustaining it, and in turn shaped and regulated by it, is the intricate web of interpersonal relations we have described as the Kinship System in the strict sense. Kinship ties grow directly out of the biological, psychological, and social relations of men, women, and children in the domestic nucleus of Tale social life, the agnatic joint family. Unlike lineage ties, they involve the equal and parallel recognition of descent through both parents; and because of this bilateral criterion of social identification in kinship relations they cut across the lineage structure.[1]

This second major aspect of Tale social structure, the Kinship System, is the subject of our next volume, *The Web of Kinship Among the Tallensi*. Our aim will be not a detailed analysis of all Tale interpersonal relationships through all the levels of social behaviour, but an investigation of their place in the social structure in relation to the lineage and clan organization.

[1] Cf. my previously cited paper on 'The Significance of Descent in Tale Social Structure'.

[p. 259]

[p. 260 is blank]

2: Fortes

131, 133, 361, 487, 778, 764, 621

FE11 Tallensi FE11

[Chart of sections of end-map:

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

]

621
487
778
131
764
133
361

MAP OF PART OF TON

Conventional Signs

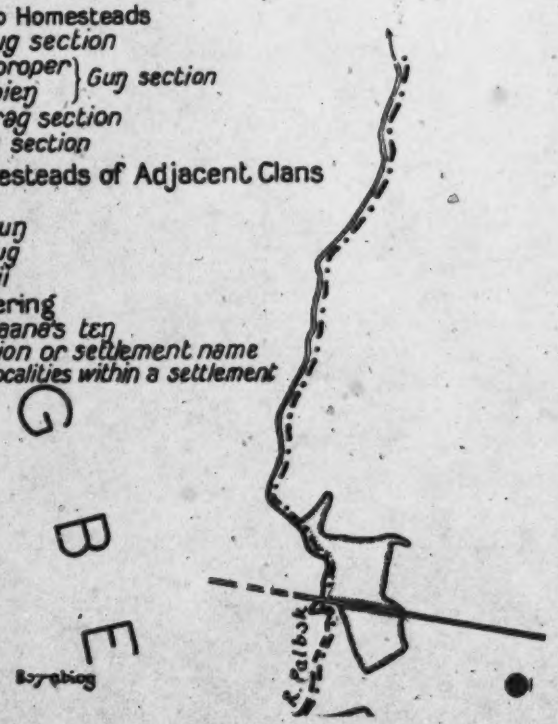
- Government roads (dry season)
- Major footpath
- Minor footpath
- Rainy season stream, dry season ditch
- Rainy season rivulet
- Tendaana's territory (tɛŋ) boundaries
- Farm boundaries
- Swampy patches (rainy season)
- Graves
- Tree
- Sacred Groves
- Water holes

Social Divisions
(each circle is one homestead)

Tongo Homesteads
- Puhug section
- Gun proper } Gun section
- Dekpien }
- Kuoreg section
- Seug section

Homesteads of Adjacent Clans
- Zoo
- Zubiun
- Gbizug
- Wakii

Lettering
- SOOG Tendaana's tɛŋ
- Puhug Section or settlement name
- Tɛŋr Sub-localities within a settlement



[END-MAP (A)]

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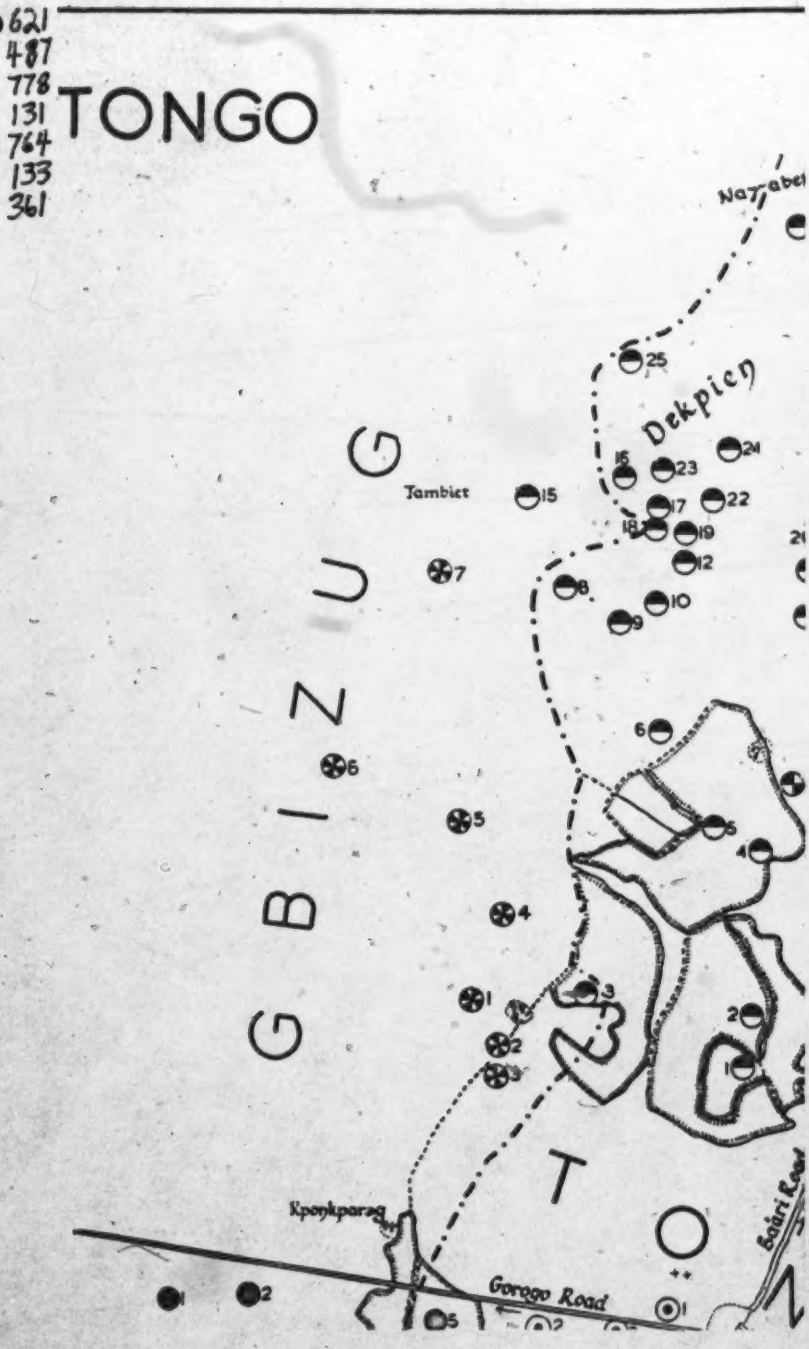

[End-MAP(B)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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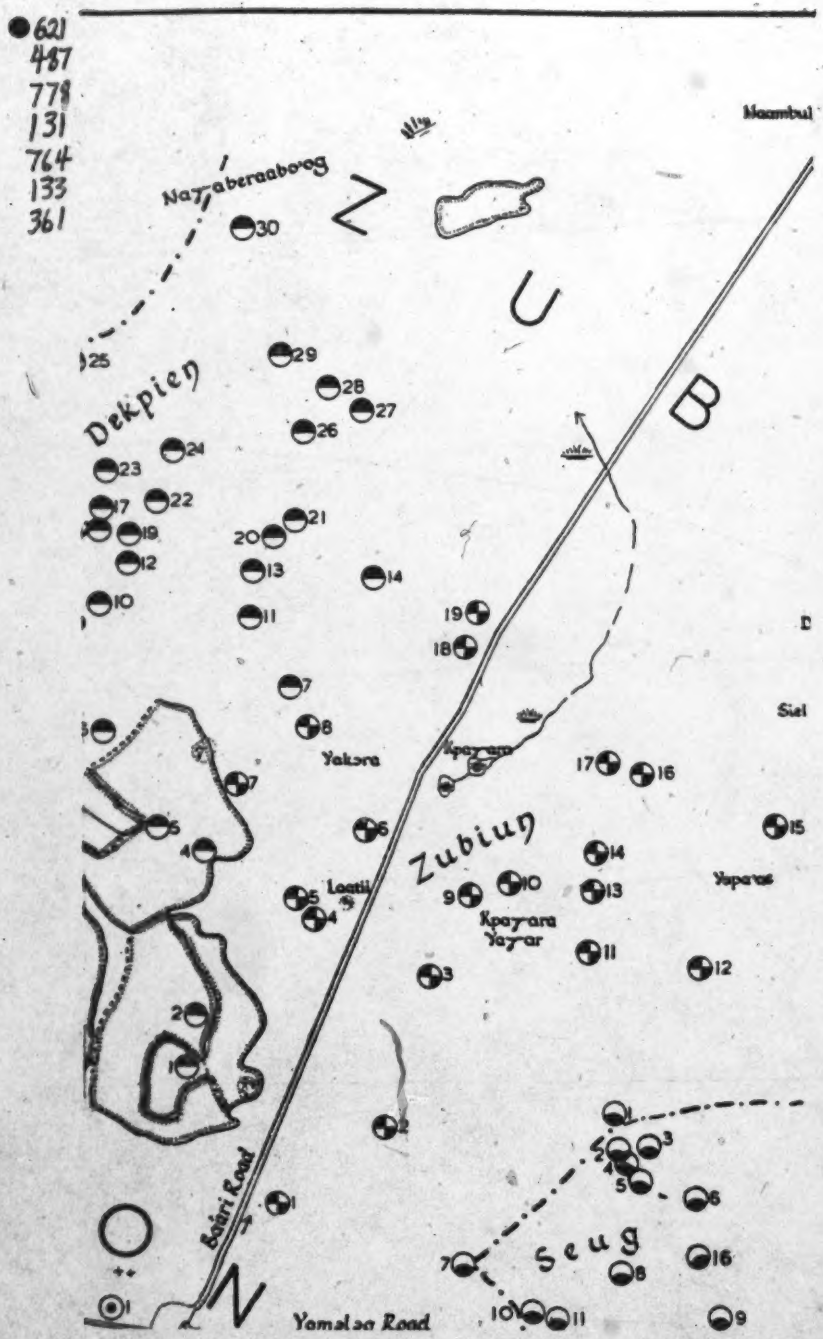
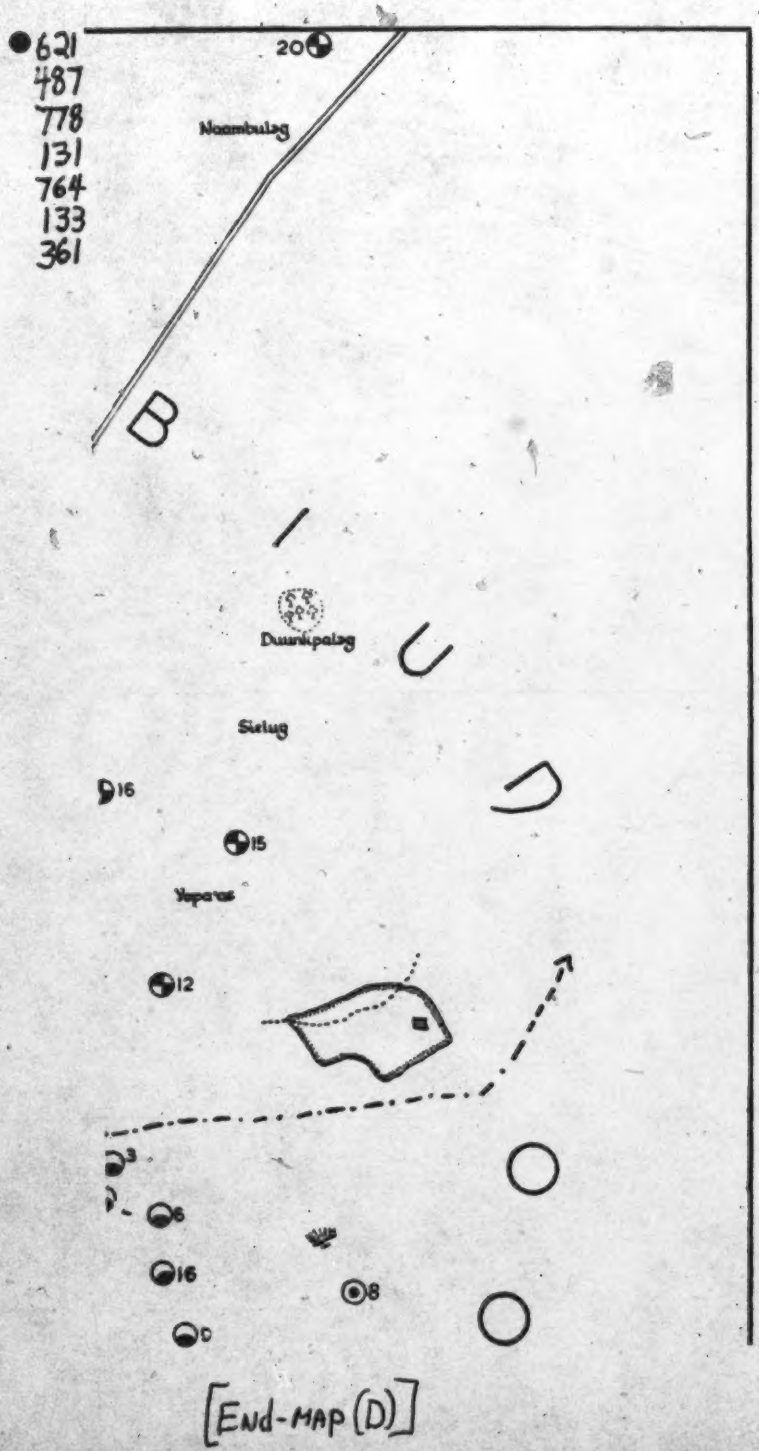


[End-map(C)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11



[End-map (D)]

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SE

The map includes the whole territorial extent of Tongo proper (*Tɔŋ-Naŋ*
boundaries. It shows *all* the homesteads of Puhug section and Guŋ proper
homesteads on the outskirts of the other sections (i.e. in Kuorəg, Seug, and
The map also shows *all* the homesteads of Gbizug and of the Yakəra sec

[End-Map(E)]

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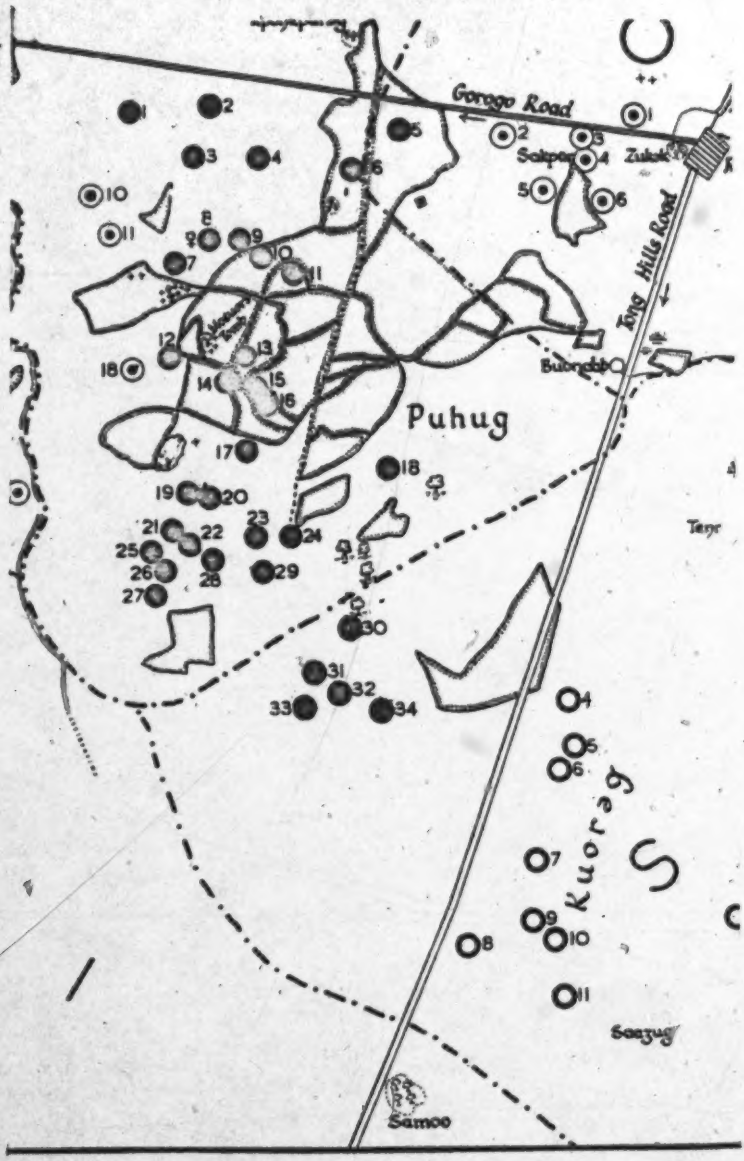


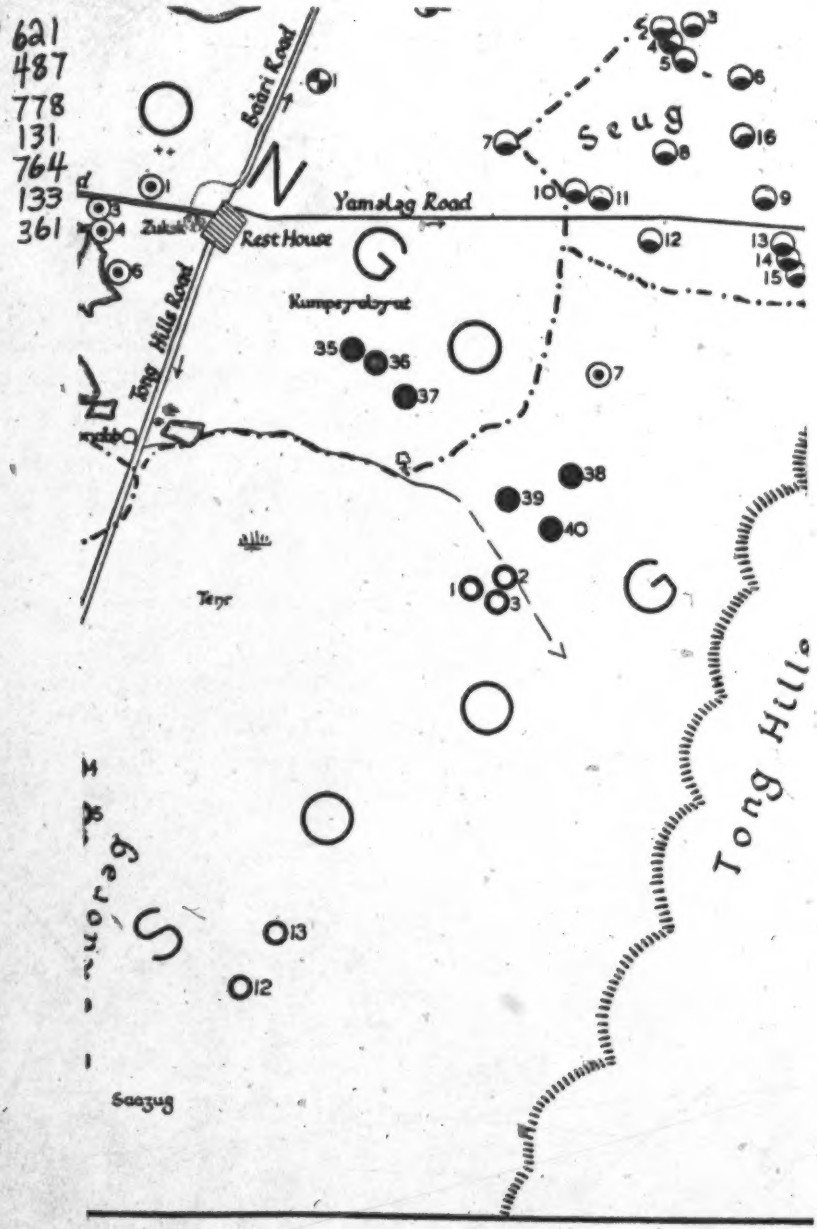
SKETCH MAP OF TONGO AND PARTS OF

o proper (*Tɔŋ-Nayiri*) but not all the homesteads within its social
n and Gún proper (*Gun* on the map) but leaves out about a dozen
Kuorag, Seug, and Dekpieŋ).
f of the Yakara section of Zubiuŋ. It shows most of the Zubiuŋ-

Kpayan
few Wal
The
covering

[End-MAP (F)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11



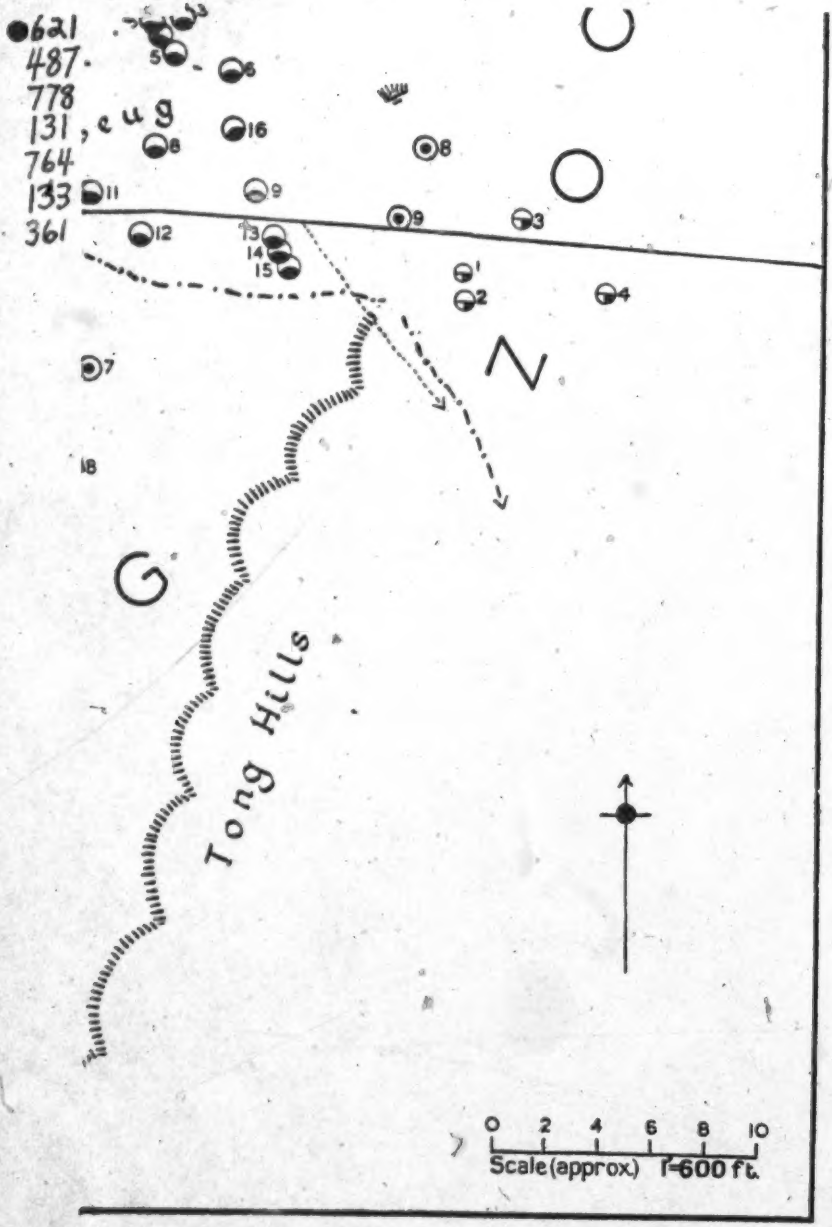
PARTS OF ADJACENT SETTLEMENTS

sal Kpayara yayar homesteads, leaving out two or three on the outskirts,
en few Wakii and Zoo homesteads.

The Farm Boundaries shown indicate the situation of only a small
ŋ- covering the map with crosses, only a few of the founding ancestors' gi

[End-MAP (G)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11



JTS

r three on the outskirts, but no Zubiuŋ-Yapaas homesteads. It shows only a

situation of only a small selection of Tongo home farms. Similarly, to avoid
he founding ancestors' graves have been marked.

[End-map (H)]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

of his lineage or clan, other than those whom he describes as his 'fathers' or 'sons'.

Every Tale clan is anchored to a particular locality from which it takes its name. In the central area of Taleland, around the Tong Hills, the present clan settlements appear to date back not less than eight to ten generations. But they have not been and are not territorially static. There are no strict territorial boundaries between adjacent settlements. The homesteads of a settlement merge with those of the adjacent settlements, and the boundaries between them are definable only in social terms, as a function of their ecological and politico-ritual relations at a given time. In the same way every segment of a clan—that is, each of its component maximal lineages—is anchored to a local subdivision of the clan settlement, though many of its members may be dispersed elsewhere.

A striking feature of Tale social organization is the system of inter-clan linkages which constitutes one of the principal forces of cohesion in the society. The genealogically and socially autonomous maximal lineage or clan is not a closed group. The component maximal lineages that form the segments of adjacent clans have ties of clanship identical with those that unite them to one another within their respective clans. Thus if two adjacent clans have segments A, B, C, and D, E, F, G, respectively, then A (but not B or C) may have clanship ties with D (but not with E, F, or G); B may have clanship ties only with E, and C with F. Each of these maximal lineages also has clanship ties with segments of other neighbouring clans. Thus each component maximal lineage of a clan has a field of clanship that includes the other segments of the clan as well as segments of other clans. This results in a network of interlocking clanship ties that embraces all the separate clans of Taleland. All the Talis clans and the main block of Namoo clans are interlocked in this way in two clusters which are in turn similarly connected at certain points. Moreover, this system of linkages ties the Tale aggregate on to adjacent clans of other neighbouring 'tribes'. Thus we observe that at this level of social structure—the skeletal level, so to speak—as in its territorial and cultural relationship to neighbouring 'tribes', Tale society is a segment of a greater society. The network of inter-clan linkages is one of the principal factors by which the socio-geographic region we have called Taleland is differentiated as a distinct segment of this greater society.

It is also one of the main factors of social equilibrium in Tale society. Dissension between neighbouring clans is kept in check by the mediation of maximal lineages linked by identical ties to both; and warfare is inhibited from disrupting the entire social order by the intervention of social and ritual obligations arising *inter alia* out of the fact that enemies are related directly or indirectly by clanship ties. It is this, in part, that gives Tale wars the complexion of acute family quarrels.

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

significance. From childhood on a person's relation to the economic system is chiefly determined by sex. In the kinship system sex operates as a differentiating factor from an equally early age, from the time, in fact, when a child learns to designate like-sex siblings by different terms from opposite-sex siblings. Local, lineage, or family institutions also act as differentiating factors, though not in the same way. This is a consequence in part of the peculiarities of Tale political structure. Local groupings, clans and lineages are asymmetrically linked *inter se* and with communities outside the Tale area proper by political, genealogical, territorial, or ritual ties. The most striking case of this sort is presented by the Hill Talis who have immemorial ritual links with villages and genealogical groups among Dagomba, Mamprussi, Bulisi (Builsa), Woolisi (Kassena), Mossi, and other neighbouring peoples. Each of the Hill communities has its exclusive associates in these foreign areas. The people of Sii were traditionally associated with the Bulisi, the people of Gorogo with the Woolisi, the Kpata'ar clan with certain villages of Black Dagomba, and so forth. There was in former times, and is even more so now, a constant traffic between the Tong Hills and the outside areas linked with the clans dwelling there—pilgrims coming to the Fertility Shrines in the Hills and Talis paying ceremonial visits to their associates. But the economic and political by-products of this traffic were most important. In this way a range of geographical and social contacts was, and is, available to a member of the Hill clans which no Namoos had, and among the Hill clans themselves the actual contacts varied from clan to clan. The Namoos again have their traditional political associates among the Mamprussi. It is especially interesting to note that the Mamprussi associates of the Hill Talis and the Mamprussi associates of the Namoos belonged to a single political structure; yet the latter would not, a generation ago, have hesitated to overpower and enslave any Hill Talis they encountered defenceless.

Factors of this sort become significant only after adolescence and more so in the life of men than of women; but they are operative even in childhood. The Black Dagomba guests at a Kpata'ar elder's homestead are familiar figures to his children; and one sign of the interest taken in them by the children is the fact that most Kpata'ar youths understand and easily speak the dialect of the Black Dagomba, whereas other Tallensi do not.

6: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

226 and to give moral support to a man of their own rank, members of his own family, and
65 the *bayardaang*, who, in addition to the sacrificial animals he receives from the owner, is entitled to a present of fish.

226 Why then do owners of pools call out communal fishing expeditions? They themselves say "because our ancestors did so." A more adequate explanation suggests itself from an examination of the fishing situation in relation to the technique of fishing and to the conditions of ownership of pools. Fishing with hook and line is practised by a few people throughout the year, but the technique is rudimentary, suitable for the capture of an occasional fish and not for the provision of a regular supply. The net technique, on the other hand, cannot be satisfactorily employed by individuals. It is essentially a communal technique. There is thus a practical necessity for communal fishing.

226 Principally, however, fishing is correlated with the ownership of pools. With few
423 exceptions appointment to a chieftainship by the Paramount Chief of the Division
554 constitutes the title to the ownership of a particular pool. Of the exceptions, I have record of one authentic case of a pool owned by a single lineage and transmitted according to the laws of inheritance. Tradition said that it had been purchased by the ancestor
[622] of this lineage from a chief in a time of severe famine. To organize a communal fishing expedition is thus a prerogative of chieftainship[1]. It maintains the prestige and proclaims the status of a chief beyond the confines of his own limited territory. Striking proof of this occurred when the Chief of Yinduri announced an expedition to his pool. When the people arrived there, the pool was found to be so choked with weeds that fishing was impossible. Someone from another settlement suggested fishing a neighbouring pool, belonging to another chief, instead. The people of Yinduri were so incensed by this affront to the dignity of their chief that they attacked and beat the offender. Besides,
[685] such an act of communal poaching would have exposed them to the penalty of a heavy fine.

226 Chiefs, consequently, desire large attendances drawn from a wide radius at fishing
● 621 expeditions. Actually, however, the territorial range of the attendance at any expedition is limited by the factor of contiguity—the further a settlement is from that of the owner of the pool, the smaller will be the contingent coming from it; while the social constitution of the attendance is conditioned by the principles of kinship. Thus, a man will always accompany an expedition arranged by his mother's brother or other kinsman, even if he is from a distant settlement, since he would probably be permitted to keep his catch, and would be less drawn to expeditions under the auspices of non-kinsmen. Similarly, the *Namoos* clans turn out in far greater numbers to expeditions arranged by *Namoos* chiefs than to those of the *Tallis* chiefs. Another factor influencing the social constitution of fishing expeditions is that people tend to go in family parties.

[554] [1] A commoner who owns a river, as in the case cited above, naturally follows the general practice and on the occasion of the fishing expedition enjoys a prestige equivalent to that of a chief.

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

RITUAL FESTIVALS AND SOCIAL COHESION IN THE HINTERLAND OF THE GOLD COAST

By M. FORTES

•621 SOCIAL cohesion, or some equivalent concept, has gained an honorable place in anthropological literature as a labor saving-device. To an ethnographer working with an Australian horde, a nomadic Beduin tribe, or even a people with a strong centralized government, it may seem a self-evident concept; a first law of social life like Newton's first law of motion, by which everything else can be explained. In the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, however, there is nothing self-evident about it. In the limited area north of the White Volta and east of 1°W. long. we find a congeries of peoples speaking different dialects of the Mossi-Dagomba language family with an ostensibly uniform culture, but lacking a centralized political organization. There are no villages in this country, but for miles and miles, continuously, one mud compound follows on another. There is often nothing to mark the boundary between one settlement and another, nor can exact frontiers between dialect areas be established. A short ethnographic residence in the country shows that a notion of a fixed and demarcated tribal unit, either as a linguistic grouping or as a political grouping owing a common allegiance, does not exist. There seems, in fact, to be no structural unit larger than the clan-settlement capable of exhibiting social cohesion.

The observations presented here[1] refer to the small corner of this area occupied by the Tale settlements. The Tallensi are well-known to their neighbors for the ritual festivals which they celebrate. These festivals occur between the cessation of the rainy season in September and the commencement of the next rainy season in April. In this paper I shall deal only with a single facet of the festivals, their significance as a mechanism of social cohesion. To appreciate this, some knowledge, however over-simplified, of Tale social and political structure is necessary.

The Tallensi, being anciently settled agriculturalists, are inexorably bound to place. Local group and kinship group tend to be coterminous, hence the social classification of people is primarily in terms of the settlements. Intra-clan social relationships are of a uniform type all over the country. Relations between settlements, that is political relations, however, are of a different order. In keeping with the dominant trend of Tale social life towards decentralization and divergence, rather than centralization

[1] The present paper is based on material collected during a field expedition carried out in 1934–35 under the auspices of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

and convergence, every clan puts an egocentric interp[illegible] its relations with other clans. These interpretations are comp[illegible] prejudice, conventional opinions, traditional attitudes, and pers[illegible]l values; but they conform to a pattern nevertheless. Lacking a central machinery of government and a common allegiance, the Tale settlements have no permanent political relations with one another. Even the Administration has been able to impose only a limited and superficial degree of coördination. Traditionally and to this day the heads of clans coöperate in certain contingencies or in certain periodically recurrent ritual situations only. For the rest local autonomy is absolute. The upshot is that the political relations of the Tallensi are a sum of the political relations of each settlement with its neighbors. This means first, that geography is an important factor in their politics, and second, that rigid political frontiers do not exist.

A glance at the political geography of the clans with which the present paper is mainly concerned is therefore essential.

These Tale settlements fall into two major groups. On the one hand are the clans known as the Namoos, on the other the Tallis clans. The principal settlement of the Namoos is at Tongo, which was founded, according to the tradition stereotyped throughout Taleland, by Mosur, who fled thither from the Mampuru country in the south, probably over two centuries ago. Mosur was the ancestor of all the people of Tongo and of several settlements colonized from there. Later immigrants from Mampuru established co-clans of Tongo.

The Tallis (i.e. the "real Tallensi") can be subdivided into two groups, those living north of Tongo, the principal settlement of whom is at Baari; and those living on and around the Tong Hills, whom I call the Hill Tallis. The Gbizug lineage is in a special category, as we shall see. Tallis traditions attribute diverse origins to their clans. Four clans, including Baari, Gbizug, and Wakyi, claim primacy of rank in virtue of the fact that their ancestors emerged from the earth or descended from heaven, and were there when Mosur arrived. The other clans are offshoots of these, or of immigrant origin. The Tallis have an ingenious system of clan concatenation, based on a fiction of kinship. Broadly speaking, every lineage of every clan is linked to a lineage of every neighboring Tallis clan by a fiction of half-brotherhood which binds them to reciprocity of certain privileges and obligations, prohibits intermarriage, and especially unites them in a common religious cult. The Namoos clans conform in all respects to the classical definition of a clan; the others must be designated thus for brevity's sake and for want of a term which will convey how they deviate from the prototype.

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

184 Namoos and Tallis have a common cultural idiom, just as they have a single language. Their economic system is uniform and inclusive of both communities; their laws of land tenure, of inheritance and successions, of marriage and legitimacy are identical. The ritual practices and the mystical notions of their religious and magical institutions are the same in form and dynamical character, even if they sometimes differ in content, especially in the domestic cult of the ancestors. This common corpus of social definitions and of pragmatic organization is the inevitable correlate of the conditions of social and economic intercourse normally prevailing between the two communities. They have been intermarrying for generations, and this entails common legal techniques and principles, as well as a single type of domestic organization. They exchange commodities in trade, gifts, and in the discharge of kinship obligations: for every Namoo has numerous cognatic kinsmen among the Tallis and the Tallis among the Namoos. Kindred come into frequent contact with one another, not only on ritual occasions, such as sacrifices to ancestors and in funeral ceremonies, but also in ordinary social and personal affairs.

621 622 793 Upon this homogenous basis of social and economic relations between individuals and familial groupings is superposed a political structure the essential principle of which is a polar opposition defined and emphasized by the most stringent ritual observances. The head of the Tongo Namoos has the title Naa or Chief. The chieftanship (naam) was brought to Tongo by its founder, Mosur, from Mampurugu. It remains the absolute prerogative of his descendants. Every new chief of Tongo buys his rank from an hereditary elector who represents the chief of Mampurugu. The colonies and co-clans of Tongo elect chiefs of lesser grade. But no Tallis may hold the title Naa. Their heads of clans and lineages are typically entitled Tendaana, (literally "owner of the land"). The principal Tendaanaships in the land are attained by rights of patrilineal succession. The chief of Tongo claims suzerainty over all the Tale settlements. Actually his executive authority reaches only to his own settlement, while a Tendaana's executive authority hardly extends beyond his own lineage. Balancing the chiefs' political claims, the Tendaanas assert their precedence in virtue of their "ownership of the land." Moreover, each of the principal Tendaanas claims precedence over all the others, such is the degree of local autonomy. Normally an occasion never arises where these rival claims can be pitted against one another. They are vaunted in the presence of the ethnologist, or in the ritual and domestic assemblies of kinsfolk.

784 184 Chief and Tendaana, Namoos and Tallis, are further separated by a barrier of taboos, many of them symbolic. The chief may not tread upon